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The Week

DECLARING that Article X is "the very backbone of the whole Covenant," Mr. Wilson in his talk to the Senate Committee did more to take the backbone out of the backbone than the most determined reservationist. The first sentence of the article declared that the members "undertake . . . to preserve"; the second sentence, that the Council "shall advise upon the means by which *this* obligation shall be fulfilled." Everybody, from Mr. Root on, has read that as meaning that while a member might reject the advice as to means, it was nevertheless bound in some way or other to fulfill the obligation. A nation might choose its own form of action, but it was bound to achieve the result. This is not Mr. Wilson's view. He thinks that in rejecting the advice as to the means by which "*this obligation*" shall be fulfilled, a nation is legally released from the necessity of fulfilling the obligation. This at least is what his statement says. And, as he points out, since one member of the Council can prevent a unanimous vote, one member can nullify the whole obligation. Thus we arrive at the remarkable conclusion that so far as Article X goes, nobody is pledged to defend anybody else unless everybody agrees to defend the victim. Just how this can constitute the very backbone of any-

thing, it is a little difficult to see. Nations were always at liberty to defend one another if they chose to.

HAVING emasculated the article legally, Mr. Wilson revived it morally. "It is binding in conscience only, not in law." But the difficulty here is to discover the meaning of "it." Is "it" the undertaking to preserve, or is "it" the duty of acting on the Council's advice as to means? Presumably "it" is the undertaking itself and this, says the President, is "a very grave and solemn moral obligation." Undoubtedly it is, and since this is the case how does it in fact differ from a legal duty, assuming that the United States respects its pledged word? It does not differ, and so by a roundabout process of reasoning one is compelled to return to the obvious view, that in spite of all pleading Article X is to all intents and purposes a treaty of alliance under which we are obligated to go to war to defend the territorial and political status as revealed in the year A.D. 1919. For, assuming that we take morals seriously, Article X cannot be at one and the same time an engagement which binds no one without his consent and a very grave and solemn moral obligation. Either it means nothing or it means a very great deal. It cannot mean both. The fact that the President attempted to make it mean both is a conclusive argument either for eliminating it entirely or for interpreting it with complete definiteness in the articles of ratification. For it will not promote the stability of Europe one little bit to hasten the ratification of a guarantee the nature of which the author himself finds it so difficult to determine. If Article X is necessary to the reorganization of Europe, it would be an excellent plan to let Europe know what we are prepared to have it mean. For there could be no greater tragedy than to have Europe proceed on one theory of American obligation only to find in time of crisis that Congress had a totally different view.

MEXICO's actual offenses against America should not be condoned, but neither should they be viewed through the red mist of a press that has raged for years because Mexico goes unsubjected. The Carranza government should have suppressed banditry in the northern states. It should have provided definitely that existing foreign investments of a bona fide character should not be disturbed. It has been urged in Mexico's defence that Mexican nationals have been slain with impunity on our side of the line; that the

Sonora land laws are no more unjust to Americans than the California land laws to the Japanese. It has been urged that the United States government has taken no effective action to suppress the smuggling of arms to the bandits. Our failure to fulfill our own international obligations, say Mexico's apologists, is in large part responsible for Mexico's failure to fulfill her obligations. All those observations are perfectly just, but the tu quoque argument does not convince when addressed by the weaker nation to the stronger. Mexico, if she is wise, will not follow the example of the United States, but will improve upon it.

RICHES may be a blessing to a powerful state; they are a curse to a weak one. If Mexico did not possess the richest petroleum fields in the world, and unimaginable wealth in metals, we should not now be feeding on tales of Mexican atrocities. There would be in fact fewer atrocities if bandit leaders could not fortify their hopes with the promise—perhaps unauthorized—of substantial assistance from foreign financial interests. Such atrocities as remained we should discount in the light of the fact that banditry is no worse in northern Mexico today than it was in our own Rocky Mountain regions in the middle of the last century. We should never have been beguiled by the childish notion that there is anything even remotely resembling anarchism or communism in the Carranza regime. We should on the contrary have credited that regime with its actual achievements: the restoration of the currency after a period of hopeless disorder; the extraordinary recovery of transportation and trade; and above all, the huge improvement in the political, social and economic condition of the working classes. Much remains to be done before Mexico reaches the level of security and prosperity her friends wish her to attain. She is rising steadily toward that level, as we should recognize if we did not hunger after Mexican wealth which we cannot morally seize until we have sufficiently blackened Mexico's reputation.

WHAT is the meaning of the threat of a radical change in our Mexican policy? President Wilson and Mr. Lansing must certainly be aware of the fact that intervention in Mexico would be less easily justified today than at any time since the assassination of Madero. Are they impelled by any other influence than a sense of the desires of democratic, as distinguished from imperialistic America? It is common gossip that promises have been given to England and France that the Mexican investments of British and French nationals will be better safeguarded in the future than they have been in the past. Ever since the first revolution our European friends have been insisting that it is our duty to make Mexico safe for their enterprises. The administration was unwilling to undertake, in behalf of European interests, a police job which it could not decently undertake in behalf of American interests. But in the matter of Shantung, President Wilson showed how far he was willing to commit America in order to win the support of Japan for the League. Did any other country urge that support of the League would be more cheerfully given if a new Mexican policy were inaugurated? This we refuse to believe, if for no better reason, because Mexico is too near home and the consequences of intervention too serious.

DURING the presidency of Mr. Taft, an official calculation is said to have been made of the probable cost of "cleaning up" Mexico. The services of four hundred thousand soldiers through at least two years would have been required—so it was estimated—and the money cost would have run into the billions. Since then the standards of war expenditures, both in men and in money, have greatly advanced. Besides, Mexico would be much more nearly a unit against us. In the time of Taft we could perhaps have played one of two fairly matched factions against the other. Today there is no important faction opposing the Carranzista government: only scattered bandit bands in inaccessible mountain fastnesses and a few juntas of Diaz intransigents mostly on our side of the line. A million men and five billion dollars might suffice to subjugate Mexico; hardly less. Where are the men and the billions to come from? Must we resort again to conscription and to increased direct taxation in order that the oil and metal profiteers may be secure in their projects of rapid enrichment?

THE position of British ambassador to Washington is no easy one to fill at this time. But Viscount Grey can count upon the assistance of his own greatest quality—the ability to impress all with whom he deals that he is a man of sterling sincerity and disinterestedness. In all the controversy which his diplomatic career has aroused, men have found it possible only to quarrel with some of his judgments, never with his intentions nor with his habit of fair-dealing. The memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky is a vindication that any statesman might envy, and more than balances the criticisms made by Englishmen either of the original Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 about Persia, or the hesitations of the Twelve Days of 1914, the somewhat evasive replies to questions about the Franco-British commitments, or the bungling Balkan diplomacy during the war which began with the unfortunate secret treaty of London. Lord Grey's views on this treaty and the League created at Paris are not known, for he has been in retirement due to ill-health. But it is believed that he is in general sympathy with that noble band of Britishers for whom General Smuts has been the spokesman. To believe that of any diplomat today is to pay him the highest possible tribute of good will.

THE White Terror has begun in Hungary. An Associated Press dispatch from Budapest says that seven thousand men and women have already been rounded up "as a result of anti-Bolshevik raids by the Rumanians, assisted by the new Hungarian police force." And, as might be guessed, "many aristocrats personally aided in ferreting out the Bolsheviki." A White Terror was made inevitable by the course of Allied policy. To the Hungarian trade unionists the Allies promised peace and a lifting of the blockade if the Communists were ousted. The trade unionists overthrew Bela Kun and set up a moderate socialist government. Whereupon the Allies broke faith—agreed that the invading Rumanians be constituted delegates to carry out their orders in Budapest, and opened the way to the restoration of a Hapsburg monarchy. Hungary is today

ruled by a foreign army and a clique of the Tisza aristocrats the very ones against whom both peasants and workmen rebelled.

MEANTIME the diplomats in Paris, after a week of looting and violence on the part of the Rumanians, have sent a note to Budapest saying that this sort of thing must stop. British and American representatives in Budapest had protested strongly against the action of the Rumanians—Captain Gregory, an American representative, declaring he would not assist in sending food to Hungary if the Rumanians were going to requisition it—"If the Rumanians will not leave I am going home." The Peace Conference has accordingly bade the Rumanians stop their pillaging—and though Hungary remains under the rule of a Rumanian army and a Hapsburg who seized power in a coup d'etat, the Conference piously assures everybody that it wishes "to preserve for that country a free expression of the national will." How the Conference note was received in Budapest an Associated Press dispatch has the following to report: "The Rumanians continue their requisitions, although late last night they acceded in principle to the demands of the four Allied generals that requisitions should cease."

THE effect of what the Allies have done in Hungary is described in a cable to the New York Globe from one of its European correspondents. "The Hungarian upheaval," says this dispatch, "gave the Allies a splendid opportunity of proving to the Russian people that they are fighting only Bolshevik excesses. Instead they proved to the great satisfaction of the Bolsheviks that they indeed are looking upon the fight against Bolshevism merely as a convenient method of defeating socialism and restoring the monarchist reaction. Now—while the anti-socialist newspapers of the entente countries are celebrating the supposed 'triumph' in Budapest—the Bolsheviks in Moscow and extreme socialists all over the world are celebrating what for them is a real victory."

TWO recent dispatches to the New York Times show how news is sometimes made to work as propaganda. On July 30th the Times printed a Washington dispatch discussing the inquiry of Ambassador Morris into the government at Omsk. "Morris's Reports Favor Kolchak" read the headline; and the dispatch itself declared that thus far the reports were "favorable to recognition," showed Kolchak "actuated by the highest motives," etc., etc. The reader gained a very favorable idea of Kolchak—as no doubt it was intended he should. And had Mr. Morris agreed with the Times no one would have been the wiser. But two weeks later the Times found it necessary to print a second dispatch from Washington: one which said that "Ambassador Morris's preliminary reports have all been unfavorable to the recognition of Kolchak," and such as to "emphasize the essentially military character of his government." To the frequency with which news dispatches have been used for propaganda in such a way as this, is due in large part the fact that we are still without peace in Russia.

The End of the Kolchak Myth

IN an effort to establish the good faith of Kolchak's government at Omsk the propagandists have long been building the legend of its democracy. Kolchak, they have said, would restore popular government. But Kolchak began by destroying popular government—when he overturned the democratic, non-Bolshevik government at Siberia and set up a regime of his own. To cover this autocratic seizure of power the propagandists have worked overtime. Blocs of insignificant parties have been marshalled as evidence of widespread political support. Endorsements have been juggled to make it seem that the twenty million members of the Russian cooperatives had pledged their support to the Omsk government. In May the propagandists talked of the democratic army Kolchak led, an army made up of soldiers who greeted their leader as redeemer of new Russia. Peasants, they declare, were enlisting willingly in the holy cause. Everywhere Kolchak was advancing—winning easily against half-hearted opposition. To the American press a French wireless reported on May 13th that Kolchak was making plans "to begin an advance on Moscow."

Today, three months later, there is little that can be salvaged from the wreck of early summer hopes. "The position of the anti-Bolshevik army commanded by Admiral Kolchak (says a Washington dispatch to the New York Times, August 12th) is so critical that official Washington is now openly apprehensive of the collapse of the entire movement headed by Kolchak. . . . Entirely trustworthy information received by the government within the last forty-eight hours shows that the Siberian forces have retired an additional 160 to 170 miles—this being the third extensive retirement in the last few weeks."

Kolchak's retreat has been a rout—despite the extraordinary advantage of facing an enemy who was occupied on three other fronts. For the complete collapse of his May offensive, the propagandists, of course, have a ready answer. Lack of outside aid, they say. Kolchak needed munitions—and until it was too late we gave him none. That is an argument popular with Kolchak's apologists, but a poor explanation for the disinterested public. Aside from whatever advantages Kolchak had for production of munitions within Russia (until a month ago he held the vast coal and iron fields of the Urals and the steel plants at Ekaterinburg) we know in fact that the Allied Powers did send great shipments of arms and ammunition to Siberia. That fact is officially confirmed. Addressing Parliament on July 29th,

the British Minister of War declared: "We have made a powerful contribution in the way of munitions, which we are continuing to make." Possibly the British contribution to the different anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia has amounted to 500,000 rifles and 500,000,000 rounds of ammunition. That is the estimate of one well-informed British journal. And to British aid must be added the support Kolchak has drawn from Japan.

It was not rifles that Kolchak lacked most. His real weakness was his utter lack of popular support. From its inception the Omsk government has had only that authority which its bayonets could enforce. A Washington dispatch to the New York Times simply puts the truth politely when it says: "It is suspected in some important diplomatic quarters here that the new attitude taken by the United States toward the Omsk government, which is indefinitely postponing recognition of the Kolchak regime, is occasioned by a distrust of Admiral Kolchak himself rather than by the military reverses suffered by his army. It is known that some time ago Paul S. Reinsch, American Minister to China, cabled to the State Department a series of criticisms of Admiral Kolchak by American consular officers in Siberia. The essence of the advices was that Admiral Kolchak was distrusted by the Siberian population, that he could not exercise governmental authority because of the people's hostility to him, and that he was a reactionary."

Kolchak's friends in America will have an increasingly hard time keeping alive the myth of popular support behind the government at Omsk. With news of Kolchak's rout comes an announcement that the government of the United States has authorized the shipment of more arms to Siberia. A few more months, however, and the shipment of rifles will be no answer to the demand of the American people for an end to intervention. Americans will not be concerned about "recognition" of Kolchak or Lenin or Denikin. What they will demand, with the coming of winter, is *peace*—peace with all factions in Russia, with the Soviet government no less than with its opponents.

Plays Without Actors?

ONE big fact is made clear by the actors' strike: you may call yourself a "producing" manager and believe yourself a "producing" manager, but without actors you can produce little except indignation.

Another fact, not quite so clear, is beginning to be suspected by everyone. This is the fact that without "producing" managers it is still possible to produce plays. The two things that are unques-

tionably needed are the plays themselves and players to play them. Some sort of housing and ticket-selling is required, and some sort of management. But the management may be and can be the servant of the actors. It need not be the boss.

Managers vary so greatly in their knowledge of the stage, their disinterested intelligence, their creative faculty, their tact and generosity, their fellow-feeling for the actor, that it is almost impossible to sweep them all into a class and fit them with their lowest common characterization. Among their most ardent defenders are well-established actors, actors whose relations with them have been worked out so satisfactorily that the very idea of fighting them as a class seems unjust and repugnant. But greatly as they vary and excellent as they may be in given cases, the theatrical managers as a class, even those who know most about the stage, are under the unfortunate disadvantage of being to a considerable extent parasites. They are lusty parasites, well nourished for their size and extremely unaware of their true character. But to them the chief thing is not the art or the profession. It is the business. They are in the business competitively, greedily and for profit. The business may thrive or may not thrive. But the profession, as a rule, has been cruelly subordinated to the exigencies of the business. And the art has simply gone to pot.

What the managers have given the American public is, with few exceptions, an immense amount of business promotion to a small accompaniment of art. We have had billions of electric bulbs, reams of advertising, a gallop of one speculative production on the heels of another and a great deal of claqué and sentimental dust. This, in spite of Mr. Belasco's sacrifices on the altar of art and Mr. Frohman's tiny residual estate, has been the main result of the busyness of the theatre. In seeking to be profit-producing managers as well as producing managers, the emphasis has fallen resoundingly on the box-office. And the actors have lost out both as artists and as employees.

The strike is aimed at the managers in their role as employers. It cannot help affecting them in their role as theatrical producers. The finest possibility of the strike is a fundamental readjustment of the theatre in line with the actors' best conception of their art. There is more in the strike than a fight for a share of the profits, payment "by the piece" and "overtime" and the rest. There is the underlying need of the actors to escape from their subordination to the box-office and to assert their own paramountcy in the theatre. The measure of the success of the strike may well be the extent to which the managers are reduced from their position as bosses all along the line.

Nothing could be better, with this end in view, than the experiment of play-producing by the actors themselves, with the management in the hands of their own agents. Why cannot the cooperative principle be promoted by this strike? The result may be fewer electric bulbs, fewer stars, less speculation and even less variety. It can scarcely help being a gain to the profession and an enhancement of the art. By virtue of such enterprise the American theatre may at last come to be the home of American dramatic genius, instead of American commercial genius scowling on the vulgarity of a new labor union.

A Promise Not a Threat

A STRIKING example of how head-lines mislead occurred in the recent flare-up about the Plumb plan. The impression everywhere was that the Brotherhood railroad programme had been sprung with strikes and with threats of more strikes as a kind of plot to "hold-up" Congress and the public. Most people probably still believe that to have been the fact, and very earnest editorials have been written upholding the principle of majority rule against the supposedly malignant Brotherhood leaders.

Our own investigation of the matter convinces us that this impression is totally false, and that the direct opposite is the truth. *The Plumb plan was not submitted with a threat—it was submitted in order to avoid a threat.* The Brotherhood leaders had not planned to have their bill introduced for several weeks. But a combination of circumstances, the proposed vacation by the House, the proposed delays in settling the pending wage questions, created such unrest among the men that sporadic unauthorized strikes broke out all over the country, and worse ones were indicated. The men had become impatient of their leaders and almost uncontrollable because of the inaction at Washington. The bill was hurriedly introduced in order to convince them that their leaders were not frustrated. The bill did quiet them. The promise of constructive action averted attention temporarily from the wage demands. If a real solution was in sight, the men would be patient a little longer, and it was on the basis of such an argument as this that the leaders were able to induce the men to return to work.

The charm of the promise will, of course, soon wear off, and unless there is speedy and thorough performance, the unrest of two weeks ago will break out again, and in a more uncontrollable form. It is a race now between the restlessness of the men and the obstruction at Washington. The real

mediators are the labor leaders. It is they who are working with the utmost energy and in the only intelligent way possible to avert a national railroad strike and direct action. They propose a solution of the whole railroad problem. Their proposal has great merits and some defects. But it is a statesmanlike suggestion, and if it can be brought to serious examination quickly it will furnish a substitute for the industrial warfare which nobody wants but which nobody will be able to avoid if inertia prevails at the Capitol. If the men have for the moment quieted down it is because the introduction of the Sims bill has given them hope of a kind they have never had before. It was necessary to offer that hope if unrest was not to become uncontrollable and destructive. The leaders saw this, and they deserve gratitude, not insult, for it. They have been grievously misrepresented by the so-called reporters of news, and the initial misrepresentation has been made the occasion for reading them lectures in morals and in democracy by well-meaning but altogether uninformed people all over the United States.

More Light on Open Diplomacy

THE Prinkipo affair is ancient history—so swiftly does the world move. But it is worth recalling now that the censorship has lifted sufficiently to afford a fair view of the facts. What has become clear is that in the heart of last winter there was a fair possibility of a peace with the Soviet government, a peace which would have protected the essential interests, material and moral, with which America and the Allied governments were properly concerned. The Soviet government was ready for any compromise, short of suicide. It was on the basis of such a state of facts that an invitation was extended to the various Russian factions to meet on Prinkipo Island to compose their disputes. It is generally believed that American influence, not yet sunken to zero, inspired the proposal.

This proposal, as every one knows, was rejected with vehement scorn by the Archangel government (British); by the Kolchak government (British); and by the Denikin government (British). Apparently it was never communicated officially to the Soviet government (Russian). American influence fell short of penetrating the means of communication. But the Soviet government heard unofficially of the proposal and transmitted its acceptance by wireless. Not only that; it transmitted specifications of the terms it was willing to discuss with the Allies and with its enemies on Russian soil. Those terms found their way into the Allied press on February 7th. As reported on that date, in American and British

newspapers, they included two principal points, the payment by the Soviet government of the bonds of the old regime held by Allied nationals, and a readiness to grant concessions to Allied nationals for the exploitation of Russian national resources. Thus the principal interest of France—investments in Russian bonds—would be protected, and the principal interest of England and Japan—timber, mineral and petroleum concessions granted by various straw governments set up more or less ad hoc—might be validated. There was, however, a qualification, according to the reports of February 7th, "The extent to which the Soviet government is prepared to meet the Entente will depend on its military position in relation to that of the Entente governments, and it must be emphasized that its position improves every day."

But were we fighting Russia on account of bonds and concessions? No; our grounds for dragging on the war, slaughtering Russian soldiers in the field and dooming hundreds of thousands to death by a starvation blockade, were, of course, of a moral character. Could we abandon our Russian allies, the followers of Kolchak, Denikin and Tchaikovsky, to the mercies of the Bolsheviki? Could we permit the Russian Soviet government to continue a propaganda against our forms of government? That would be contrary to morality and common sense. And what single word was there in the Soviet peace offer on these points?

Not one word, that we were permitted by the censor to see. Nevertheless, there was in fact explicit provision in the peace offer on both of these points. "The Russian Soviet government has not the intention of excluding at all costs consideration of the question of annexations." So the offer actually read, according to Arthur Ransome's *Russia in 1919*. And "by annexations must be understood the retention on this or that part of the territory of what was the Russian Empire, not including Poland and Finland, of armed forces of the Entente or of such forces as are maintained by the governments of the Entente or enjoy their financial, military, technical or other support." Under this provision it would have been possible for the Allied governments to stipulate for the independence of the Kolchak, Denikin and Tchaikovsky governments within the territory they actually controlled. There need have been no question of "abandoning our Russian allies to the mercies of the Bolsheviki."

As to the matter of propaganda, "The Russian Soviet government, while pointing out that it cannot limit the freedom of the revolutionary press, declares its readiness, in case of necessity, to include in the general agreement with the powers of the Entente the obligation not to interfere in their internal affairs." That was all that it could properly

be asked to do. What the Russian revolutionary press may publish on Russian soil is no concern of ours.

The offer of the Soviet government was rejected by the peace makers in Paris. It contained everything they could have properly demanded. The only excuse they could have offered for continuing their war upon Russia was their ingrained distrust of a new form of government. And what excuse had they for garbling the Russian peace offer in the press? A similar excuse: ingrained distrust of the democratic peoples they were supposed to represent. It was the will of the diplomats at Paris that we should keep up our war on Russia; therefore it was their will that we should not be permitted to know that a peace could be made satisfying every democratic claim of honor or of interest.

Political Amnesty

THE one and only ground on which a democracy can conceivably imprison men because of their political or moral scruples is that of self-defense. It is arguable that in time of war, the example of the sincere conscientious objector may prove infectious. But it is not necessary to argue it now. Grant that it was both wise and just to imprison men for their ideas during the war, there is not now one iota of excuse for continuing to imprison them. What may conceivably have been a necessary and unpleasant precaution is degenerating into nothing but the exercise of vengeance.

These imprisoned men are no longer confined for the safety of the state, and there is no other excuse for confining them in a nation which pretends to be a democracy. The moment they ceased to be what might possibly be described as a danger, it became sheer vindictiveness to hold them any longer. They should be released at once. Every man now in prison for speaking what he believed to be the truth, every man now in prison for conscientious objection, every man in other words who is not guilty of an actual crime against the state, should be set at liberty. The President has the power to declare political amnesty for all political prisoners, and he will exercise that power now if he is loyal to any of the ideals which he has professed to believe. The decision is entirely in the President's hands, and we trust that no casuistry will be evoked by which the liberty of men who have suffered for their ideas is made contingent upon some technicality like the ratification of the treaty or formal demobilization.

Only the most extraordinary emergency can possibly justify political imprisonment in a democ-

racy. The emergency is past. If it is safe to trade with Germany; if it is safe to send drummers into Germany, it is surely safe to put at liberty men whose only offense is that they served their God or their conscience as seemed right to them. For that it may have been necessary to isolate them and even to terrorize them during the war so that their example should not be followed too widely. But on no theory consistent with any American ideal should a precaution incidental to war be continued as punishment in time of peace.

The Brotherhood Plan and the Pork Barrel

THE country has a wholesome fear of any project that will make the expansion and improvement of our transportation system depend upon log-rolling and political influence. Upon no single factor does the commercial and industrial progress of a community depend to so large an extent as upon the adequacy of its railway and terminal facilities. Not only the prosperity of business, but the welfare of labor is at stake, for a wasteful and inadequate terminal system is one of the prime causes of high living costs.

Hence the critics of the railway employees' nationalization plan have tried to touch the country in a sensitive spot when they have charged that the Plumb plan will lead to a repetition, in the field of railroad transportation, of the planless extravagance, inequality and political favoritism which have so often disgraced our national rivers and harbors improvement policy. But the critics have overlooked the fact that with wise foresight the leaders of the railroad employees have sought to guard themselves against such a charge by devising a piece of machinery which is among the most promising things in their whole nationalization project.

The problem is not an easy one. A city in the Middle West wants a new freight terminal system. Its existing freight depots are overtaxed, there are expensive switching costs, long delays, and recurring periods of acute congestion, which handicap the city's industries and burden its consumers. The city claims that if a new, scientifically designed and unified system could be installed, and the necessary buildings and tracks constructed, its industries would grow and its population flourish. An industrial region in the East has grown largely in population and business during the past decade. The main railroad line connecting the district with the large cities has all the traffic it can handle. New factories have sprung up, out of convenient touch with the line, and more are promised if transporta-

tion can be improved. The district claims that a new main line, with a new system of spur tracks and feeders, is imperatively demanded. An agricultural community in the South has for a generation been producing gradually denser crops, and bringing new land into cultivation, while the water power available has perhaps attracted a few mills and factories, until the people have become dissatisfied with the poorly equipped single-track branch railway which serves them, and demand that it be double-tracked and equipped with modern locomotives and cars.

Who is to pass upon these demands? Who is to say how much money shall be spent on a new terminal system for the middle-western city? Who is to estimate whether the industrial district is entitled to another main line, or whether the existing line can be expanded to take care of the traffic? Who is to decide whether a double track in the southern industrial community will be worth its cost?

In the past such matters have been left to private judgment and initiative. Under the pretty theory of our traditional system of private railroading, the farseeing business man studies the problem, puts his experts to work to calculate traffic possibilities, obtains estimates of probable costs and probable savings, obtains the judgment of bankers and financiers, and then stakes his money and the money of those who trust his judgment, on the venture. Such is the theory. In fact, a large number of extensions and new lines have been built not because some man of sound judgment believed that the community needed them, but because a contractor's ring with inside influence in a board of railroad directors saw a chance for exorbitant profits, or because a piratical promoter hoped to blackmail an established line into purchasing a potentially troublesome competitor. The history of American railroading is full of such incidents, extending from early times to the days of the New Haven scandals of 1913.

The plan which the railway employees propose to substitute for this traditional policy of private initiative is a novel one. They propose to place the expense of new construction in large part on the community which is to benefit thereby. Their bill provides that any region or locality desiring an extension of railway facilities may organize under local or regional special assessment laws, and raise by local taxation such portion of the cost of improvements and extensions as the federal railroad Appraisal Board finds to be equal to the benefit which local real estate values will receive. The remainder, representing the national benefit which the extension will confer, is to be contributed by the federal government.

Here is at least the germ of an important and valuable idea. If a community wants improvements, let it pay its fair share of the costs. When a delegation of prominent citizens and politicians comes to Washington demanding more railroad tracks and better terminals, send them back to their district to organize their resources and raise their share of the money to pay for them. Eliminate the unearned increment which accrues to land owners whenever a new line is projected into their neighborhood. Eliminate the competitive scramble after federal appropriations for local improvements, and let the communities rely to a large extent on their own efforts.

In this feature, as in others, Mr. Plumb's bill will require amendment as to details. The plan as outlined provides only for the initial outlay, and not for the cost of operation. It will still be possible for a community to saddle on the national railroad system a worthless new line which will not even pay its expenses of operation. The plan should provide for a guarantee of operating expenses. On the other hand there is no reason why communities should be restricted to raising money for new construction by taxation. It may be more equitable to raise at least a large part by local bond issues. If this is permitted, the question will arise whether the railroad system, assuming that its earnings are to some extent enhanced by the new capital expenditures, should not contribute a share of its enhanced earnings toward interest charges on these local bonds.

A concrete case will make the problem clear. Several small towns in a sparsely settled neighborhood want a branch line built out from the main line, say fifteen miles long. The cost we will assume to be \$300,000. The Federal Appraisal Board decides that because of the benefit which the country at large will receive, in obtaining more cheaply and quickly the farm products from these towns, the initial cost should be divided equally between the government and the local community. The government therefore issues \$150,000 worth of bonds, to meet its share of the cost. The towns on the projected route then agree upon a plan by which they will raise their share of the cost partly by local taxation, partly by special assessments on land particularly benefited, and partly by town or county bond issues.

The branch line is completed, and begins operations. A certain amount of outgoing traffic originates on the line, a certain amount originating outside is brought in, and if the line connects two existing railroads, there will be through traffic. On each of these types of traffic it will be possible for the Interstate Commerce Commission to apportion to the new line its fair share of the revenues. For

the first few years this share, added to the revenue from purely local traffic, may not be enough to pay operating expenses. If so, one half the loss should be apportioned among the guaranteeing communities, and the rest borne by the federal railway system. If there is a return above operating costs, it should go to the government, in sufficient amount to reimburse it for interest and amortization charges on its share of the original cost. If anything is left it should go to the towns or counties, to reimburse them for the interest and amortization charges on their local bonds, any deficit being made up out of local taxation. Finally if the road should eventually prove profitable and bring a surplus over fixed charges, this surplus would go into the national profit sharing fund provided in the Plumb plan.

As to terminal extensions and improvements, the problem is more complicated, since our rate structure is not built upon a separation of terminal and road haul charges. But here also it should not be impossible for the Interstate Commerce Commission to assign to the terminal a fair share of the freight and passenger revenue, the local community to make good its share of the deficiency if this allowance does not bring in enough to cover the interest and amortization charges on the cost of the improved terminal.

In these and doubtless in other respects the railroad employees' plan for eliminating the pork barrel can be improved. The subject is worth the most careful study. If Mr. Plumb and his able associates can devise and perfect a workable plan by which local communities can be made to assume a fair share of the risk and expense of major railroad extensions and improvements, they will have made a contribution of extraordinary value toward the solution of our national transportation problem.

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The International Duel in China

EVERYBODY knows that before the war the territory and resources of China were the scene of contention among five great Powers. During the war the situation completely altered. Russia and Germany ceased to exist as influential factors. Great Britain and France had their energy, attention and capital mortgaged in a life and death struggle. This left Japan mistress of the field. In accordance with the rules of established international diplomacy, she took full advantage of the unique opportunity to improve her national position. It is hardly sportsmanlike of other nations who have been engaged in the same game to whine about her success. Anyway, they have been her accomplices. Something like an offensive and defensive alliance between Japan and Russia was consummated while the latter seemed to be still a Power. Great Britain and France made secret arrangements with her. In every case, the consideration given Japan was at the expense of China. Until the circumstantial reports of the activities of Ota in Stockholm are confirmed or refuted, the question remains whether Germany, the fifth contender, had not also already entered into negotiations with Japan, also at the expense of China but this time with Russia also as a prospective victim.

Apparently Japan had the field to herself. Yet for over two years a duel has been in progress, a duel which concerns both China's internal policy and her international relationships. The duel concerns the ideas and ideals which are to control China's internal political development. Is it to become a genuine democracy or is it to continue in the traditions of autocratic government?—whether under the name of a republic or an empire being a secondary consideration. Internationally, the question is whether China's integrity can be regained and maintained under some sort of temporary international supervision, or whether China is to follow the course which in the past has made Japan the only Asiatic nation capable of protecting herself against European encroachments and sure of the effective respect of western nations. A duel between ideas and ideals needs, however, to be embodied. The United States and Japan are the bodies through which the duel of ideals is carried on. Force of circumstances, not conscious choice, has determined the figures of the duel.

In details, Japan may perhaps have been a peculiarly adept pupil in the way of secret diplomacy practiced by the western Powers. But she has a right to claim that her ultimate object, controlling

every particular step, has never been concealed. Her announced aim has been to free Asia, at least eastern Asia, from foreign, that is, European control. The Monroe doctrine for Asia, Asia for the Asiatics, is a doctrine as public as it is sweeping. Any Japanese is entitled to claim that if the foreigner has ever taken Japanese guarantees of the territorial integrity of China in other sense than as *against* the European intruder, the foreigner has only his own stupidity to blame. Japan would still hold that she has kept her guarantees of the territorial integrity of Korea—kept them by the only means which under the conditions are effective. In other words, the standing minor premise of the conclusion of the recovery of China by China is the protectorate of weak, unorganized and unprogressive China by organized, militarized Japan—Japan which has adopted western methods in science, industry, education and arms in order to turn them against the West and to preserve the culture and territory of the East, of Asia, intact. Behind every word of the twenty-one demands and of the other negotiations of Japan with China lies the clamorous and luminous unuttered word: Put yourself under the complete protection of Japan, and you shall be guaranteed the same international prestige, the same immunity from projects of partition, concessions, spheres of influence and economic servitudes that Japan enjoys. In no other way can you secure integrity, freedom and respect.

Incidentally of course, great material and industrial advantages would accrue to Japan, to say nothing of the military advantage of command of unnumbered man power. But only the blindness of extreme national prejudice will fail to see that the grandiose scheme has as many ideal aspects as those which have ever clothed the plans of any western Power to fulfill its national destiny and mission. As between Japanese and European domination of Asia, a disinterested and cynical American, barring an eventual menace to his own country, might easily remain a neutral spectator. As it now stands, Japan has won official and governmental China—at least that of the internationally recognized government of the North. This does not mean that assent has been given to the basic idea, or that the very officials who are now playing the game of China do not hope that some time or other something will happen which will loosen the hold of Japan over China. But they do accept the particular acts by which Japan is making her approaches to the realization of her goal, even though they protest vigorously, as in the case of the twenty-one de-

mands, when the pace is too much forced. Patriotism aside, all the interests of their own pockets and of their own local power and prestige require that each specific step forward should be met with obstructions and resistance until Japan is ready to pay the specific price exacted.

The extent to which Japan has won over the officially governing clique of China is evidenced in the circumstances surrounding the refusal of the Chinese peace delegates to sign the peace treaty. With all the concessions which the government made to the students' movement, it never agreed to instruct the delegates to refuse to sign, until a semi-promise was made to an insistent incursion from Shantung to Peking; and instructions in accord with this vague promise did not reach Paris till after the delegates, on their own responsibility and with the moral backing of the country set over against their official instructions, had refused to sign. The government is now putting the best face possible upon the matter and trying to get popular credit on the one hand while it placates Japan upon the other. Quite likely it is still urging the Paris delegates to make a belated signature. But the militarist, imperialist pro-Japanese group has had an almost deadly blow dealt to its moral authority, and it is even conceivable that a signature forced at this time would be a signal for a popular revolution.

In short, the grandiose scheme of Japan failed to reckon with the most essential factor in the situation—the Chinese people. The extent of this failure may be calculated from the fact that Japanese propagandists in the United States sometimes compare their mission in China to that which they benevolently assign to the United States in Mexico. China with her four hundred million population and the author of the civilization of Japan does not see herself as a Mexico waiting for salvation from Japan. Call it pride or ignorance or national conceit or self-respect or a true sense of comparative national values on the part of China, call it what you will, the fact remains that Japan has so misjudged the psychology of China that she has made an implacable enemy of the people while she has been winning over the officials. One thing, and one thing only, can throw China back into the hands of Japan. Let there be a resumption of the old diplomacy of the western nations with respect to China, and it is conceivable that bitter as would be the dose, China would accept the domination of Japan as the lesser of two evils. And it is not enough that the western nations should have good intentions. They must avoid even the appearance of evil, for ingenious propaganda is always at hand to explain to the Chinese how westerners are trying to exploit them. Even avoiding the appearance of evil is not enough. No task more difficult can

be found than the discovery and institution of ways and means by which China can be given the assistance which she imperatively needs, which must be given from outside herself without arousing her national jealousies, suspicions, fears, antagonisms and opposition and thus inviting the aid of Japan against the foreigner.

This brings us naturally to the other figure in the duel of ideas and moral influence—the United States. In the main of course it is the logic and especially the psychology of the situation that has put the United States into this position, not anything she has actually done. If the American idea has for the moment won the people as effectually as the Japanese practice has imposed upon the most influential official clique, it is by way of rebound. Idealization is most active when contrasting emotions are deeply stirred. Fear of Japan has bred trust in the United States; dislike of Japan a pathetic affection for America. It is no wonder that Japan with her poor reading of national psychology is bewildered by the present pro-American outburst of China, and can find in it only proof of superhuman ability in intrigue and of the expenditure of countless millions in propaganda. But in fact the situation has made itself. China in her despair has created an image of a powerful democratic, peace-loving America, devoted to securing international right and justice, especially for weak nations. The heroic legend that unified the United States for the war she still accepts, and she has added paragraphs and chapters of her own.

How trustingly naive is the faith in the United States may be gathered from various addresses of congratulation which were proffered to representatives of the United States on the Fourth of July. Shanghai was the real centre of the patriotic students' movement, and the following are extracts from some of the Shanghai addresses: "Your great nation is now introducing into the international relations of the world those principles of justice and right which have always been the guiding lights of its own national life." This is Platonic enough, but the concrete meaning appears a few sentences further on: "We look forward to the day when China and the United States shall both be in a position to maintain the peace of the Pacific as your country together with that of Great Britain have maintained the peace of the Atlantic." The Canton Guild congratulated the United States upon her leadership of the cause of human rights in the Councils of the Nations, and left no doubt as to its understanding of the character of this leadership by saying "China and America must have the same ideals. China and America must maintain the peace of Asia. We look to America to help in our battle for justice." Another address (this time

from women and girls) is even more specific. After remarking that the American navy has never been used to wrest liberty from any people, it goes on to say that "if ever the day comes when China will have to drive the aggressor from its soil, the American navy will throw its influence in the cause of right." The Commercial Federation sounded the same note in a different key: "On this day of independence we call upon the American people to assist us to be independent, to develop our railways, our waterways, our resources, to join with the capital of China to make us free from the commercial bondage under which we have been living."

Of course through all these lines runs the hope of actual assistance against the country believed by the people to be bent upon dominating China under the pretext of helping her. But while the desire for material aid, naval, military, diplomatic, financial, is plainly there, the spirit behind these addresses is something more than national self-interest. The international appeal is bound up with national aspiration for a truly democratic China—an aspiration up to the present tragically frustrated. For the same situation which has given Japan the role of a despoiler and assigned to America the role of a rescuer, has also made Japan the symbol of autocratic and militaristic government in China itself, while the United States symbolizes the free democracy that progressive China would be and is not. No one can understand the present idealization of the United States by China who does not see in it the projection of China's democratic hopes for herself. I cannot quote again at length but each of the addresses to which reference has been made contains a touching reference to the fact that America's Fourth of July signalizes an accomplished fact, while the nation that offers the congratulations has for eight years fought a battle for a republic and has not yet won her victory. Deceived by the traditional officialism of the ruling clique, Japan has so far failed to see the enormous gulf that exists between her own centralized autocracy and the democratic modes of life of the Chinese masses. This perhaps is no wonder when representatives of western nations have so frequently misconceived China's essential democracy and have longed for some strong ruler to bring her the blessings of peace and order. Although this democracy is articulately held only by a comparative handful who have been educated, yet these few *know* and the dumb masses *feel* that it alone accords with the historic spirit of the Chinese race. And this fact has done for the United States what she could never have done for herself in making her the popular counterfoil to the bureaucratic and autocratic government of Japan.

The situation is one that imposes humility rather

than self-glorification upon Americans. Our country will have a hard time living up to the role for which she has been cast. The difficulties are intellectual and moral as well as matters of practical judgment and tact in action. Have we the required fibre and virility? Or shall we once more fall between a clever commercialism on the one hand and a futile phrase-making idealism on the other? Above all it demands stamina and endurance of intelligence to think out a consistent and workable plan and to adhere to it.

So far as the Far East is concerned, the whole question of the attitude of the United States to the peace settlement, including the League of Nations, is how America's action is going to affect her freedom and force of action in behalf of the international democratic ideals she has professed. In China at least there is fear lest America in making the world safe for democracy be herself compromised by too close association with nations who in international matters are not as yet moved by democratic ideals. If the United States in working with the Allies was obliged to surrender at Paris her own convictions on the Shantung question, China prefers to trust a United States which is free from such commitments and entanglements. After all, democracy in international relations is not a matter of agencies but of aims and consequences. Under certain conditions, a United States which was going it alone would, so far as the Far East is concerned, be a much more effective instrument of true internationalism than a United States in a League the other members of which had no belief in American ideals. But League or no League, the task of the United States in the problems of the Far East is not an easy one. The first requisite is a definite and open policy, openly arrived at by discussion at home and made known to all the world. Then we need to be prepared to back it up in action. Idealism without intelligence and without forceful willingness to act will soon make us negligible in the Far East—and surrender its destinies to a militaristic imperialism. We can't, to take one minor illustration go on loaning money freely to France if France is at the same time supporting the policies of Japan regarding the composition and functions of an International Consortium. This perhaps is but a hypothetical illustration. But it may well be questioned whether the United States has as yet awakened to the enormous power which is now in her hands. That which most impresses a visitor to the Far East is the extent of this power—accompanied by a query whether this same power is not largely being thrown away by reason of stupidity and ignorance.

JOHN DEWEY.

Peking, July 8.

A Comparison of Manners

IT would be tempting, to say the least, when everybody is attributing to the work of The Younger Generation the influence of Henry James, to attribute to the work of Henry James the influence of Herman Melville—if one only could. But one alas can't. No. Fabulous, orgic, as such a turn of the tables would be, I am not meaning even to lend a hand to it. I wish simply to point out an entertaining discovery.

You know how in the intensified circumstances people have been retrogressing to unanalytical, unpsychological authors for a breathing space. One conceivably comes across Meredithians "glued" to *The First Violin*, and Freudists fast in *Longfellow*. (Though one recalls the Cantabridgian who said: I can't read *Longfellow*—he's so subtle!) Thus it was, I suppose, borne back on the ebb of modernity, that I got at last to Herman Melville. Not so regrettably far back, either—which was also for me a discovery.

His titles had piqued my curiosity in first edition catalogues, coming usually between *Phantasies* and *Esther Waters*. I knew nothing whatever about him at the start. Only afterwards—after I'd read *Typee*, and *Omoo*, brought out by Harper & Brothers in 1846 and 1847 respectively—did I stop to consider what anybody else thought.

Richardson's *Primer of American Literature*, Revised Edition with Twelve Portraits (Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1883)—a handy relic from goodness knows where—furnished me with a nucleus, viz: "Herman Melville has written lively sea-tales." Amusing though it is as an epitome of the words of one than whom, to quote from R. H. Stoddard's *Recollections*, "no American writer was more widely known in the late '40s and early '50s in his own country and in England," it still amply met, I began to think, the temperate demands of posterity. For there were few more comprehensive critiques readily available. Barrett Wendell, in *A Literary History of America*, casually notes that: "Herman Melville, with his books about the South Seas, which Robert Louis Stevenson is said to have declared the best ever written, and his novels of maritime adventure, began a career of literary promise, which never came to fruition." In Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature* are several excerpts from *Typee* uncritically prefaced. Julian Hawthorne, in his memorial biography of his parents, mentions the close friendship between Melville and his father, and gives extracts from his father's journal describing their meetings, and publishes some dozen letters which passed between them. *Etudes sur la Litterature et*

les Moeurs des Anglo-Américains au XIXe siècle par M. Philarete Chasles. Paris: Amyot, 1851, contains interesting chapters called: *Voyages Réels et Fantastiques d'Hermann Melville*. I can only refer you to the encyclopedias for aught else I know.

Henry James, perhaps, did not know even as much about his father's contemporary. Still, it is certainly possible that he did. He may have known him personally, not unlikely. Melville was living in New York when James was a child, and they both came later to Massachusetts at approximately the same time, as it happened. But one wonders not so much about these details—or about old-world points of view they may have had in common; one wonders rather, for instance, if James, on rainy days of his boyhood, wouldn't have been irresistibly attracted by things in stray Melville volumes he chanced to espy standing dusty on the shelves of libraries he was brought up among. *Bartleby* is not so far from a short story in the early James manner, despite its occasional flatness, and though it concerns itself somewhat with "the base rattle of the foreground." Benito Cereno could, by a stretch of the artistic sense, be compared not so lamentably with a tale of Joseph Conrad. But I don't intend to argue. Anything like a real matching of the merits involved is too far fetched even for me. What I do intend is to call your attention to the "manner," here and there, of Herman Melville.

We have heard so often the explanation of James's "later manner"—not to say latest. (Just where the dividing line is, I don't know; a friend of mine traces it to a certain chapter and paragraph toward the end of the second volume of *The Tragic Muse*.) We have listened to the improvisation about the stenographer, who wrote down not only what Mr. James said but also what he thought; and we've smiled at the comment: "Yes, and what the stenographer thought, too." And we've read *The Great Good Place*, said to be a distilled objectification of the author's reflections on the luxury of dictating,—of which the preface to the New York edition only vouchsafes, however: "It embodies a calculated effect, and to plunge into it, I find, even for a beguiled glance—a course I indeed recommend—is to have left all else outside." We have believed, moreover—had scarce a doubt.

But now crops up disconcertingly this out-of-date popular author who wrote in a manner which, though it falls wretchedly short in beauty and revelation of that with which I am daring to compare it, nevertheless is, I submit, as "manners" go, almost uniquely comparable. Not always—he had his other manner, too. The "lively sea-tales" are

as crystal clear as one could wish—as crystal in their clarity, at least, as the James of those years before he forgot, presumably, if he ever knew, precisely what sort of author Herman Melville was. But consider patiently, please—my pièces de résistance—the sentences I shall lay before you from *Pierre*, or *The Ambiguities* (Harper & Brothers, 1852). It appeared when Henry James was nine years old—before typewriters or stenographers existed. (Bartleby, to which I've referred, and which "came out" four years afterwards, is about a scrivener in New York.) The plot or theme of it, let me interpolate, were it not so "done" as to be hardly decipherable, would be today considered rather "advanced." D. H. Lawrence hasn't exceeded it for morbid unhealthy pathology. But I am concerned mostly with sentences here. I attach specimens of them, like exhibits, in support of my case—not so many, I trust, as will overtax the least jaded enthusiast; though *Pierre*, or *The Ambiguities*, is a long novel, and, similarly to some novels of Henry James's, is divided into twenty-six "Books," each of a half dozen chapters, more or less. The punctuation is obtrusively mid-Victorian. But substitute commas for semi-colons, now and then, if you will.

Page 481-482.

"Setting aside Aunt Dorothea's nebulous legend, to which, in some shadowy points, here and there Isabel's still more nebulous story seemed to fit on—but uncertainly enough—and both of which thus blurredly conjoining narrations, regarded in the unscrupulous light of real naked reason, were anything but legitimately conclusive; and setting aside his own dim reminiscences of his wandering father's death bed; (for though, in one point of view, those reminiscences might have afforded some degree of presumption as to his father's having been the parent of an unacknowledged daughter, yet were they entirely inconclusive as to that presumed daughter's identity; and the grand point now with *Pierre* was, not the general question whether his father had had a daughter, but whether, assuming that he had had, *Isabel*, rather than any other living being, *was that daughter*;)—and setting aside all his own manifold and inter-enfolding mystic and transcendental persuasions—originally born, as he now seemed to feel, purely of an intense procreative enthusiasm—an enthusiasm no longer so all-potential with him as of yore; setting all these aside, and coming to the plain, palpable facts—how did he *know* that Isabel was his sister?"

Page 352.

"Even so, it may possibly be, that arrived at this quiet retrospective little episode in the career of my hero—this shallowly expansive embayed Tappan Zee of my otherwise deep-heady Hudson—I too

begin to longingly expand, and wax harmlessly sad and sentimental."

Page 239.

"This preamble seems not entirely unnecessary as usher of the strange conceit, that possibly the latest germ of *Pierre*'s proposed extraordinary mode of executing his proposed extraordinary resolve—namely, the nominal conversion of a sister into a wife—might have been found in the previous conversational conversion of a mother into a sister; for hereby he had habituated his voice and manner to a certain fictitiousness in one of the closest domestic relations of life; and since man's moral texture is very porous, and things assumed upon the surface, at last strike in—hence, this outward habituation to the above-named fictitiousness had insensibly disposed his mind to it as it were; but only innocently and pleasantly as yet."

Page 187.

"So, also, in a good degree, did he endeavor to drive out of him, Isabel's reminiscence of the, to her, unnameable large house, from which she had been finally removed by the pleasant woman in the coach."

Page 458-459.

"Certain that those two youths must be plotting something furious against him; with the echoes of their scorning curses on the stairs still ringing in his ears—curses, whose swift responses from himself, he, at the time, had much ado to check;—thoroughly alive to the supernaturalism of that mad frothing hate which a spirited brother forks forth at the insulter of a sister's honor—beyond doubt the most uncompromising of all the social passions known to man—and not blind to the anomalous fact, that if such a brother stab his foe at his own mother's table, all people and all juries would bear him out, accounting everything allowable to a noble soul made mad by a sweet sister's shame caused by a damned seducer;—imagining to himself his own feelings, if he were actually in the position which Frederic so vividly fancied to be his; remembering that in love matters jealousy is as an adder, and that the jealousy of Glen was double-added by the extraordinary malice of the apparent circumstances under which Lucy had spurned Glen's arms, and fled to his always successful and now married rival, as if wantonly and shamelessly to nestle there;—remembering all these intense incitements of both those foes of his, *Pierre* could not but look forward to wild work very soon to come."

Page 447.

"And when it so chanced, that—owing perhaps to some momentary jarring of the distant and lonely guitar—as Lucy was so mildly speaking in the presence of her mother, a sudden, just audible, submissively answering musical, stringed tone, came

through the open door from the adjoining chamber; then Isabel, as if seized by some spiritual awe, fell on her knees before Lucy, and made a rapid gesture of homage; yet still, somehow, as it were, without evidence of voluntary will."

The technique and texture of it are, of course, essentially different to the master's. In relation to his, it is as crude and stark as warp without any woof. Melville ramified along the way to elementary goals, punctilious to leave no stone unturned that should add to the complexity of what he fancied was to him alone obvious; whereas James, exploring and groping ahead, coped with inspiration upon inspiration, and concentric inspirations, so to speak, the very poignancy and multiplicity of which, and his zeal not to miss an impression, absorbed the least dread of obscurity. Yet their thoroughness, thus dissimilarly acquired perhaps, involved devices and idiosyncracies grotesquely alike—all quite aside, I mean, from whatever in their methods of presentation I've hinted may appear rather to tally. Melville, it is told, had a proclivity to metaphysics, and James's inheritance possibly included an aptitude for the elaborations which such a field seems inevitably to engender. At any rate, one queries if there isn't a something about the convolutions of both that savors of philosophers' painstakingness.

ARTHUR JOHNSON.

Vaudeville

THIS is not to seek means by which genuine fun can be produced and the inventive faculty stimulated among large companies of vaudeville players. Probably the mill of the circuits will always grind hard, and a constant stream of real exuberance, fresh humor and easy invention will never flow from it. But there seems to be no substitute for the circuits. A Little Vaudeville might be delightful, and roaming companies of independent players would be within an old tradition. But it is a question whether these could command the expert tricksters who make much of the life of a vaudeville show. In any case their performances would be local or occasional, and the appetite for vaudeville is not a patient high desire awaiting the best.

But the satisfactions which the circuits provide might easily become more complete. Vaudeville can and sometimes does make a broad and vivid pattern of fun and grace and dexterity; and the lightness, color, and surprise which it approximates have their own character and even an artistic integrity. But vaudeville fails to keep to any kind of level, much less its best, in the matter of settings.

If a near-Italian dance, all vivid green, black and red, is really spirited, the mild tan and pink of the American battleship on whose deck the dancing miraculously takes place and the pallid pink Bay of Naples in the distance are an antidote in color, and the suggestion of drama when none is forthcoming diffuses the central effect of bright rhythm. An act which requires space, like the accomplishments of a troupe of acrobatic dogs, may be set in a chalky grey imitation French drawingroom, cluttered with pre-Mission parlor furniture. Burlesque dancing may take place before the painted vast arcades of a porphyry palace or on the terraces of Lake Como: probably Lake Como from the depths of the blue. Italian backgrounds seem to be managerial favorites. It doesn't matter in the least that the audience may not be specifically aware of these incongruities or that they may be forgotten if the act is sufficiently entertaining. The initial frustration will exist just the same, and the act will fall short of its possibilities since it lacks the positive support which setting might give.

Vaudeville has little right use for elaboration, for its turns are brief, bold in effect, their balance slight and transient. And it has even less claim than the dramatic stage to anything like exact realism. Realistic settings might have a place in some of the one-act plays which are occasionally included, but even in these the backgrounds ought to keep the slightness of the sketch if they are not to seem too abrupt a departure from the bill. Certainly the true sketch should accept the character which is given by its name, with its centre a quick and simple drawing of people and small events, its background only suggested. When an audience can be convulsed by the mere sight of an extraordinarily tiny ice-cream carton if it is produced at the right moment or by a labored imitation of a train-whistle, the copied details of a soda-fountain or of a rural station are both needless and distracting. Something of the simplicity is wanted which Granville Barker achieved in *The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife*, but with broad and even crude touches of comedy in line and color.

But simplification of setting is no sweeping remedy, though simple settings are undoubtedly right for many sketches and certainly for acts whose interest is contained in effects of outline. Wizards of the wire could display their accomplishments more vividly and the illusion of balance or suspension in space could be more startlingly produced if the performers were projected against simple colors made vast by lighting, as is sometimes done for dancing acts; and the same kind of colored spaciousness could be created for the swirling patterns of trick cyclists. The filtered light and broad distances of the circus tent where all kinds of aerialists

are at their best give a key to the right effect. But the true vaudeville half-stage or curtain acts should have their own varied and broken backgrounds. The beauty of the patchwork curtain has been praised, and the patchwork curtain can be beautiful, but it can at the same time suggest mere fun by its gay and striking combinations and could make a perfect background for comic dialogue and grotesque dances. Stiffly hung drops with bright borders and broad designs, or stretched backgrounds outlined in vivid patterns could be used for trick dancing and tumbling, with somewhat simpler effects for the impersonations and song-and-dance acts which are staples in vaudeville. An endless amount of decorative detail is offered in the acts which require paraphernalia. A perfectly composed and rightly colored stage composition would double in effectiveness the trick of the girl and the locked trunks. The ducks which are drawn from a sleeve or a silk hat or an empty paper bag might become a comic episode as they processionally waddle off the stage if they were given an enhancing background. Much could be made of playing cards and scarves and bowls of goldfish and lighted censers; and surprises might be brought even into the mind-reading acts by an adroit use of color.

Several years ago in London a scene in Pelissier's Follies invited the eye to travels whose effect was to produce a level of humor. Across the floor were great arabesques of black upon white receding to a vista which opened out between white pillars. Beyond a low parapet and over a black and silver sea hung a huge moon of crusted silver. Suddenly at an angled recess at the side a shaft of light shimmered, between pink and purple, the color of primroses, falling like a curtain. As its glow slipped down the shallow steps from the parapet at the back into the maze of black and white on the floor, clowns in black and columbines in white were discovered within the pattern, and Pelissier, huge, in black, rolled out from the primrose recess. Pelissier would have been engaging anywhere, but it was the scene which gave the performance its odd impetus and its finish. Surprise, a touch of absurdity, and easy invitation were there, as much in the shaft of lovely light as in the intransigent curves of the patterns on the floor and the appearance out of nothing of the black and white figures.

Vaudeville would seem to offer an extensive and varied field to the stage-designer of serious but not too serious purpose. Settings in vaudeville demand much in the way of sheer invention. Formal or conventional backgrounds should probably be used less often than on the dramatic stage, for the slighter substance of the vaudeville act needs its own particular support. Change and surprise must constantly appear, but however bold or intriguing set-

tings may be, they must not overshadow the performance any more than in the most finished of dramatic productions if the essentials of movement and active diversion are to be kept. Comedy or at least lightness of mood must always be suggested. And humor in scenic effect is no small accomplishment.

CONSTANCE MAYFIELD ROURKE.

For an American Manned Merchant Marine

SAY the organized seafaring men of America, who tied up 400 ships on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts for three weeks, affecting 40,000 men and causing losses of millions of dollars: "This was a strike for an American manned merchant marine; for a new era of cooperation between unionized seafarers and ship owners, and against the old system of disregard and hate; it was a strike against the courts, particularly the United States Supreme Court."

Striking to keep Americans at sea under the American flag, despite private owners, despite governmental departments and the Supreme Court; this goes beyond the customary objectives of unions. The like of it is not in the demands of the Australian seamen whose strike lasting for months now threatens the upset of Australia's vaunted arbitration system. There the seamen are out not merely for cleaner ships and better food and insurance against the pneumonia-influenza scourge, but "to enjoy a portion of the \$75,000,000 extra profits of ship owners in the last four years." There was no talk of profit sharing in the American demands. The seamen fought for an American manned merchant marine. With what justification? They won: will their winnings keep Americans on the seas?

First, the organized seamen got the three-watch system, or eight hour day, established for the first time on the Atlantic seaboard though long in force on the Pacific, and despite certain limitations affecting 95 per cent of steamships. This was the head and front of their demands: wage increases had not figured until the dispute came to a strike. Why does this victory promise an American manned merchant marine?

Because Americans will not keep the seas under the old twelve and thirteen hour, seven days a week system, say the unions. Who is going to throw up a forty-eight or even forty-four hour week safe ashore for a ninety-one hour week on the lonesome perilous sea? Three-watch does not force an increased crew: on the Pacific it drew more Americans to sea and now according to the seamen it costs twenty-five per cent less per ton mile to move

cargo because the seamen are more highly skilled. Ship owners cried out during the strike that three-watch would place America at a disadvantage in foreign competition. While they cried this differential began to go glimmering. On July 10th, France voted the eight-hour law at sea and French seamen struck to enforce it at once. On July 21st, the Norwegian Storthing voted the eight-hour sea law. English ship owners made no bones of the fact that if America did it, they would have to come to it, by the operation of that equalizing principle which now almost deserves scientific category along with Isaac Newton's, as "Andrew Furuseth's law of the sea."

Next of the seamen's principal winnings was better foc'sle conditions, primarily separate mess and bunk room, to be gradually enforced. Clean Yankees will not go to sea in the old foc'sle, that dark, crammed, unventilated hole, where men try to eat crouching on their bunk edges, with the salty slops slung nearby, where indecency rules and disease breeds. In 1914 only 5 per cent of the seamen's union were American citizens. Now it is 55 per cent, and 35 per cent of these native born. But they will not stay unless some measure of tolerable living is built into ships. For the firemen the great Americanizing factor is the passing of the coal burner; on the oil burning Pacific coast 90 per cent of the firemen now are Americans.

Next, a new manning scale, according to type instead of tonnage: the seamen won some tentative increases in crew. Skilled old Yankees, the seamen said, would not keep the sea when ships were undermanned to the danger point, when their greenhorn mates made old hands' work too hard, when no amount of work could get things shipshape.

Finally, a flat \$10 increase for seamen: Americans, they claimed, would not go to sea when wages were below common labor's pay ashore. The raise would put American ships at no disadvantage, the seamen said; the seamen's law would take care of that. The claim was borne out during the strike, for the first to sail were foreign ships which came up to the rate quickly. By the operation of that law, many Scandinavian ships have been paying higher than American wages to keep their sailors from deserting in American ports.

This then is the seamen's case for getting the American into shipping and this is his way of enforcing it. The average landlubber retorts: "But I thought that infamous LaFollette bill had got most of these things for sailors; it coddled them. And I've read stories of the Shipping Board's new ships having staterooms for sailors."

"We've yet to see those staterooms," answer the seamen, "and we're not expecting or demanding them."

With the LaFollette law we come to an underly-

ing strike cause and one that the strike has not removed.

Seamen feel that the Seamen's law, their Magna Charta, is being whittled away by the courts, particularly by narrow majority decisions of the United States Supreme Court. American seamen have always felt cut off from law and justice. They are not voters. Seamen of other countries, such as England and Denmark, vote, casting their ballots by proxy. American seagoing citizens feel like aliens before judges who live on land the same as ship owners.

First was the Chelentis case. Chelentis, a fireman, was ordered to dump ashes over the windward side of a ship in a gale. He asked for a helper, was refused and had to attempt the job alone. It cost him a leg. In the past, injured seamen could not receive damages because of the "fellow servant" rule. The "fellow servant" rule harks back to the early days of railroading, when it was applied to protect property owners after a brakeman who had been knocked off his perch when the train hit a cow sued the company. The court held that the engineer who shouldn't have hit the cow, was negligent and was responsible because he was a fellow servant of the brakeman and that companies couldn't be sued for fellow servants' negligence. On land, the workmen's compensation laws in many states have put an end to such rulings. The LaFollette law specifically provides that "seamen having command shall not be held to be fellow servants." But the Supreme Court decided, despite dissenting opinions, that the fellow servant bar still holds. Chelentis and other one-legged seamen therefore recover nothing.

Second was the Nigretia case. Four Arab sailors finding that their ship was carting them round the world and never touching their native port, quit it in New York and sued for their pay. Sailors are notoriously penniless. An auxiliary act to the Seamen's law provides that "courts of the United States shall be open to seamen without furnishing bonds or prepayment of costs." The Supreme Court, again with dissenting opinions, held that "courts" meant only "courts of first instance" and that if the sailor wanted to appeal he'd have to pay first. All the ship owner needed to do was to appeal and the sailor's chance of damages was gone. Since then a congressional rider has put a stop to the possibility, but seamen believe that the Supreme Court tried to kill that section of their law.

Third, the Rhine-Windrush and Talus cases; the Supreme Court, 5 to 4, decided that another protective section of the law meant nothing. This section aimed a blow at the infamous practice of "advance" and the bondage of the "crimp." From time immemorial masters have held the seaman

slave to the ship by keeping his pay from him; in this the master's ally is the "crimp," or boarding master. The sailor can get no job except through the crimp and at the cost of one to three months wages paid as "advance," which is split between master and crimp, while the seaman is held to the ship to "earn" it. Under this practice, the seaman never can "earn" enough to enable him to leave the vessel and keep alive ashore while hunting a better ship. The Seamen's law's great aim is to equalize American and foreign ship wages by making the sailor free to desert the low paid ship. To accomplish this the law prohibits "advance" and puts teeth in the ban by providing for civil suit for half the wages earned, from which no "advance" can be deducted.

And the Supreme Court has decided, 5 to 4, that the "advance" prohibition which had already abolished crimping from American coastwise trade, does not apply to foreign ports; Justice Day's majority decision is that Congress failed to express intention because the words "in foreign ports" were not specifically in this section. Justice M'Kenna's minority opinion, concurred in by Justices Clarke, Brandeis and Holmes, has no doubt of the intention. The majority opinion, establishing the policy of the United States, with thousands of seamen watching to see that the law vital to them is enforced, comes to this statement: "Had Congress intended to make void such contracts and payments a few words would have stated that intention, not leaving such an important regulation to be gathered from implication." The minority opinion sees no necessity for holding up the operation of a Magna Charta until such time as Congress can insert in one section of it three words and says: "The act applies to foreign vessels as explicitly and as circumstantially as it does to domestic vessels. . . . It gives the right to a seaman on a foreign vessel to demand from the master one-half part of the wages which he shall have earned at every port and makes void all stipulations to the contrary. . . . The defense of an advance payment is precluded and clearance of the foreign vessel is forbidden. And thus the act has completeness of right and remedy and we think precludes judicial limitation of either. Its provisions are simple and direct, there is no confusion in their command, no difficulty in their obedience."

The Supreme Court is still being eyed narrowly by seamen for the ruling set up in the Nellman case comes before it shortly. In this Judge Dickinson, and, later, the Third Circuit Court, have struck the hardest blow of all at the Seamen's law by deciding that the section providing for suit for half wages means that half a seaman's wages must always remain in the master's hand until the whole

voyage is over. With the Talus decision this means that foreign ship owners need only make sure that their sailors have been paid half their wages in order to make it impossible for those sailors to ask for any of the remaining half when in an American port. It means a direct blow at the wage-equalizing effect of the law. It plays directly into the hands of foreign ship owners, into the hands of the old covert combination of American and foreign capital which has kept the American flag off the seas for fifty years.

Finally, Judge Hough of the Circuit Court, under this law which was meant to encourage desertion, has held that a seaman expressing intention or desire to leave the ship, before expressing his request for half wages, is a "deserter," and not entitled to half wages. As the seamen explain it, this means: "If I say, 'I'm going to quit this rotten ship, I demand half my wages,' I get nothing; but if I say, 'I demand half my wages, I'm going to quit,' I get my wages."

The last straw is this decision, in the Belgier case: the sailor is a deserter, entitled to no half-wages if he expresses dissatisfaction with the ship indicating desire to leave it, *while at sea*. If the buffeted sailor is overheard to remark in his fetid foc'sle, "This is a rotten ship, I'm through," that bars him from his pay weeks later when he gets to port and asks half wages.

The sailor is a simple man; doubtless it is simple prejudice on his part to regard all this word-whetting as the work of men who happen to be judges but who dress like ship owners and live on land like ship owners, while he goes back to the old sea bondage created by ship owners, American and foreign, with the help of judges in many lands.

The nub of the question of an American merchant marine, say the seamen, is this: you cannot have American sea power without American labor; and American labor is not going down to the sea in ships except as organized labor. That is the moral of all the argument about preference for American citizens and for union labor during the strike. American sea-labor cracking yarns with organized seamen in foreign ports, swapping oaths with striking labor in American ports, is just as "unrestful" in its itch for a unionized industry as is land labor the world over. The itch is in the rank and file; the big strike started against the wishes of union leaders when firemen and sailors began quitting without authorization. The urge is in seamen without respect to nation: Dutchmen, British and Scandinavians quit their flags as their ships made American ports during the strike, left the decks without "authorization" or formulated demands simply because they heard Yankee sailors were out. American seamen urged them to go back lest the strikers

be accused of interfering with the transport home of American troops. The foreigners' walkout was symptomatic of a fast growing international solidarity of sea workers, competitors in skill, but co-operators for recognition of organized rights.

Granted that recognition and the topic you hear from every union leader on our seaboard is "cooperation and the American merchant marine the biggest and best on water."

Hear a leader of the marine engineers' organization, whose generalship solidified the strike, talking to his men on what the victory meant:

"You men now have a tremendous job; you've got to become the best engineers in the world. Your ranks have filled up in the war emergency with a lot of half-baked 'engineers' who waste coal and oil and don't know your engines. You've got to get every pound out of coal, save oil and better the machinery. You can't grouse that it's saving for the ship owners; it's for the American merchant marine. The only way this country is going to keep the flag on all oceans is by greater efficiency, the finest management. You've got to take part of the managing responsibility."

Hear a leader on democratic cooperation: "The old law of the sea was fear: 'If you don't obey that order, you're a mutineer; I'll put you in irons.' The fear was especially strong across the class line. Foreign ships' officers are largely drawn from one class, their crews from another. We want the officers in American bottoms to come from the same class, going to sea as bright boys and training up to officers, with no class line to bar. Those officers are best who understand the seamen, having been one of them, and so can get the only true cooperation. The basis of that great efficiency we're after is democracy."

The cooperating seafaring unions, then, recognize that their organized power means not only demands for rights but responsibility. As to their ability to take the responsibility seamen's journals point to Italy. There the National Federation of Seamen, which has been called "without doubt the most advanced and highly developed industrial organization in the world," embracing every class of worker from captain to cabin boy, began during the war to operate ships for the Italian government. It is allied with the cooperative dockers and the cooperative shipyards, such as that at Genoa, where war building and repairing was done under union management to the complete satisfaction of Allied admirals. Now the Federated Seamen, asking that more ships be turned over to them, not to own but to operate, declare themselves ready to assume responsibility for the control and management of the whole of Italian shipping in the triple interest of the nation, the seamen and the industry.

Rivalry will not die out of the sea, no more than salt. No lookout sights rival-flagged masts but his shipmates feel like working rope or coal or oil to beat the foreigners. Will American sea workers, on deck, on bridge, in galley, in engine room, labor together to beat the foreign ship, run by the seamen for the seamen and his nation? American seamen say "Aye, aye," but not on the old conditions.

ROBERT W. BRUERE.

HEBER BLANKENHORN.

Blind

On that most dread of all of earth's dread days,
When on a cross of wood they nailed God's Christ;
That very day in which the skies grew dark,
As though to hide from heaven that horrid hour;
While in the shadows women wept for Him,
And strong men stared in wonder at His face
Thorn-torn but fearless; stared and learned anew
Not only how to die but how to live;
There sat within the shadow of the Cross
A group of them who gambled for the spoil,
Poor linen garments, vesture without seam,
His prize who was most cunning at the game.
Their eyes were holden so they might not see
Aught of that day but what their cunning gained;
And Calvary forever was for them
Only the place where that poor spoil was won
They spent in some wild brothel ere the dawn.

Again with spear-rent forms but eager eyes
The youth of all the world hung on their Cross;
Dying, as He died, for a lofty dream,
Dying, as He died, with a mighty trust
That in the years to be the rebought world
Might hold the less of woe, the more of hope,
Veiled was the sun for them, as then for Him,
And in the shadows women wept as then;
And men grown old learned newly how to live,
Seeing beyond the dark white gleams of light,
The light of the day of God which bringeth peace.
But at the Cross's foot, at the very foot,
So close that they could hear the blood-drops fall,
So close that they could see the broken forms
Of those who suffered for them, sat the men
Who found it but the chance to gather gain.
They cast the dice, they bickered for the spoil,
This they would get, or this—their lustful eyes
Beheld the vesture fashioned without seams,
His prize who was most cunning at the game.
Let the blood fall, what cared they? Let the skies
Grow blacker than the midnight for men's hearts.
This Calvary of all the world for them
Was but the chance of the Spoil they'd wildly spend
Within some brothel e'er the day should dawn.
Their eyes were holden—they can never see!

W. E. BROOKS.

CORRESPONDENCE

From Mr. Landfield of The Review

SIR: In the Review of July 12th, I made reply to the article by Joshua Rosett which appeared in the New Republic of July 9th. In my reply I refuted the unfounded and malicious charges which he made against the Kolchak government. Since you have, in your issue of August 6th, attempted a rebuttal of my answer, and have kindly submitted this to me for comment, I cannot refuse to avail myself of the opportunity thus courteously proffered.

In your editorial comment you attribute to me an importance which I do not at all deserve. I am not a propagandist. I am a plain American whose days are fully occupied with prosaic economic work. For twenty-five years Russia has been my special study, and I have been fortunate in exceptional opportunities of association with all classes of the Russian people, and especially with the Russian peasants. I should be forgetful of my obligations to them and remiss in my duty, if I did not, as opportunity offered, endeavor to make known to my fellow countrymen the truth about Russia.

When your comment states that my reply in the Review admits the essential charge of Dr. Rosett's article and corroborates his accusations, it is asserting what is simply not true, as an examination of my reply will at once show. If you will reread my reply, you will also withdraw the charge that I characterize the Constituent Assembly as Bolshevik. I cannot congratulate you upon this method of rebuttal.

To Dr. Rosett's rejoinder I shall pay only enough attention to show its baselessness and bad faith. Its importance consists, not in the misstatements themselves, but in the fact that the New Republic exploits him as an authoritative and credible witness. To do so, without first checking his assertions by the first-hand testimony of witnesses incomparably better deserving of belief, is to assume a heavy responsibility. Among such witnesses, easily available, are John A. Embry, American Consul at Omsk during the whole period referred to, whose official duty was to investigate and report on the events described; Dr. R. B. Teusler, who was in charge of the work of the American Red Cross in Siberia, in constant contact with Admiral Kolchak, and a witness of events at the front; Dr. Kendall Emerson, chief of the American Red Cross at Vladivostok, from whom you could have obtained interesting information concerning Dr. Rosett's activities at that place; and Prof. Max P. Cushing, whose work for the Military Intelligence Division gave him an exceptional opportunity to acquire authoritative information concerning the political and economic situation throughout Siberia. You knew of course that Dr. Rosett had for years been a radical socialist and that he was predisposed to favor the Bolsheviks. An examination of his article must have shown you that he concocted it out of irresponsible newspaper comment and hostile gossip gathered in a place three thousand miles from the scene of the events with which he deals. And further, in view of his actual record, you were not justified in playing him up as an "American official" to secure undeserved credence for his article.

I shall, therefore, refer only to the chief feature of Dr. Rosett's rejoinder, which is an utter misrepresentation of the December 22nd rising at Omsk and an attempt to hold Admiral Kolchak responsible for the murder of certain

members of the old Constituent Assembly following this rising.

The plain facts concerning the rising are as follows: The Kolchak government had been established but a month, and was endeavoring honestly and earnestly to bring order out of the chaos that had been wrought by the incompetent Avksentiev government. Thanks to Avksentiev, an army to withstand the Bolshevik menace was practically non-existent and had to be created while on the signing of the armistice the Czecho-Slovak forces, upon whom the Avksentiev government had leaned, had resolved to retire from Siberia. The people of Omsk were not only disturbed by this, but they were wrought up over the discovery of the negotiations between Chernov, the secret emissary from Moscow, and Avksentiev, for the betrayal of Siberia into the hands of the Soviet government, a discovery that had led to the coup d'état of November 18th. Let it be thoroughly understood that Kolchak had had no hand in this coup d'état. He was at the front at the time, was summoned to Omsk by an urgent telegram, was offered the position of chief executive because he was the one available person fitted for the task, and accepted unwillingly the onerous duty from patriotic motives. To call him a tyrant or charge him with being the leader of a reactionary or monarchist plot is a slanderous lie.

In the month succeeding his acceptance of power, there were two plots against him. The first was a monarchist plot, which was fortunately discovered in time and frustrated. The second was a plot of disgruntled Socialist Revolutionaries and Bolsheviks, friends of Avksentiev, which resulted in the rising to which Dr. Rosett refers. This plot was carefully organized and the conspirators even had an office equipped with typewriters and other material. The rising took place as planned but it was a complete failure, for the troops and militia remained loyal to the government, in spite of insidious propaganda. One feature of the plot was the opening of the prison and the release of prisoners, political and criminal. Upon the failure of the rising, a number of the prisoners returned voluntarily to prison. On December 23rd an officer leading a squad of soldiers, presented a forged order to the warden of the prison and thereby secured the persons of several prisoners, members of the Constituent Assembly. They were taken outside the town and shot.

The government deeply deplored this lynching, which they felt to be a blot upon their newly-formed administration, and Admiral Kolchak, who was lying ill, threatened with pneumonia, rose from his bed to put an end to the mob violence and prevent further disorders. He had an investigation made at once. The guilty officer and a government official who was also implicated, were arrested, tried by courtmartial, and shot.

These are not only the true and incontrovertible facts of the affair, but they are borne out by the very quotations which Dr. Rosett makes from Zaria, although he attempts by a clumsy manipulation of them, to prove something entirely different. Two of the quotations deserve special attention. In one of them Zaria asks: "What will our Allies say about this happening? All Europe, the whole world is looking at us!" This expresses precisely the embarrassment that the government felt that such an outbreak of mob violence, which they would have prevented

at all costs, should compromise them and give the impression to the world that they were not able to maintain order.

The other quotation is even more significant. "Why was this done? Is it possible that the members of the Constituent Assembly were murdered with a view to killing the idea of a Constituent Assembly itself?" The Kolchak government, as Kolchak himself expressed it, feared the Bolsheviks of the Right as well as the Bolsheviks of the Left. A monarchist plot had already been discovered. It is not strange therefore that the editor should see in the crime a reactionary motive. Dr. Rosett's bad faith in making it appear that the editor is charging the government with this motive is obvious. Dr. Rosett similarly manipulates Admiral Kolchak's declaration thanking the troops and militia for having quelled the insurrection, and warning that any future attempts to overthrow the government would be sternly repressed. This declaration referred to the insurrection and not to the lynching at all.

But why waste time on showing up the misrepresentations and falsehoods of all the small fry of agitators engaged in making such attacks? Rather let me appeal earnestly to the New Republic, in view of the responsibility that attaches to those who influence public opinion, that it ascertain the facts and weigh the evidence fairly, before exploiting such witnesses. You will find that the attitude you have assumed editorially toward the Kolchak government is unjustified by the facts, and will, I am sure, willingly make the amends that honor and fair play demand.

New York City.

JEROME LANDFIELD.

Mr. Embry Accepts a Challenge

SIR: In your issue of July 23rd, you express your approval of the article by Joshua Rosett in your issue of July 9th, in which he attacks Admiral Kolchak violently as an autocrat and tyrant and charges him with being guilty of the murder of many members of the Russian Constituent Assembly, and of having broken up democratic government in Siberia with the ruthlessness of a Tartar conqueror, etc., etc. At the same time, you call upon me "to deny specifically the truth of that description." My love of fair play and my desire to see justice done in our American press to a good man, who is putting up a splendid fight in a righteous cause, leaves me no choice but to accept your challenge. I am the more ready to take up this challenge because the article in question is not only a base slander upon Admiral Kolchak, but it is calculated to do injury to the honest and liberal movement of which he is the leader.

Dr. Rosett's article is, from beginning to end, replete with inaccuracies, exaggerations, inconsistencies and utterly false accusations and conclusions. In many instances, it displays such a profound ignorance of what has actually been taking place in Siberia during the past year, that it is inexcusable even for a man like Dr. Rosett, who had only been in Vladivostok and vicinity for a few months, and who had never, at any time, had the opportunity of visiting western Siberia and seeing at first hand the regions over which the Kolchak government actually exercised full control at the time.

Let me note a few of the glaring misstatements made in the article. Dr. Rosett charges that Admiral Kolchak "has either jailed, exiled, or murdered every member of the Russian Constituent Assembly upon whom he could lay his hands." Can it be possible that he really believes

this vicious falsehood? I know it to be a fact that there is not a member of the Constituent Assembly in prison in Siberia, while on the other hand, many members of that historic body, such as the prominent Socialist Revolutionists Ogonovsky, Alexeievsky, Gendelman, Kolosov, Brushvit, Lokhach, and others are taking a leading part in the organized activities of public and social service in Siberia. I had the pleasure of calling on Mr. Akhtiamov, a prominent Social Democrat and member of the Constituent Assembly from Ufa, at his home in that city last April during a three weeks visit to the Siberian front. The journey was made in company with Mr. Walter C. Whiffin of the Associated Press and Mr. Paul R. Wright of the Chicago Daily News, both of whom were with me at the time of my visit with Mr. Akhtiamov. Mr. Akhtiamov related to us many interesting details of the Bolshevik occupation of Ufa, which, perhaps, would have opened the eyes of Dr. Rosett if he could have heard them, but he made no reference to his having been imprisoned or murdered by Admiral Kolchak. In speaking of the Kolchak government Mr. Akhtiamov made the following statement, which both Mr. Wright and Mr. Whiffin as well as myself, considered of sufficient importance to write down. "However imperfect may be the nucleus of government which Admiral Kolchak has succeeded in forming around him, no one can doubt his patriotism and honesty of purpose and in such critical times as these, all patriotic Russians must rally around him."

I was in Omsk at the time of the murder of three members of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Fomin, Mr. Kyrienko and Mr. Bruderer. This murder took place in connection with the Bolshevik disorders of December 21st and 22nd, 1918 in Omsk. At the time, these men were in prison on the charge of conspiring against the reorganized Siberian government following the coup d'etat of November 18th. They were taken from prison by a reactionary Russian officer in command of a squad of subservient soldiers on his presentation of a forged order to the warden, and were brutally murdered. This officer and an official of the Omsk government implicated in the crime were convicted of murder in the first degree and executed. It is as absurd to hold Admiral Kolchak responsible for this crime as it would be to hold President Wilson responsible for the race riots in Washington last week. These are the plain facts of the affair and they are certainly sufficient to prove Dr. Rosett's bad faith.

Dr. Rosett, in speaking of the Zemstvos, says "During the war, the Tsar found it expedient to extend the institution of the Zemstvo to Siberia," etc. Local Zemstvos in Siberia were organized, not during the Tsar's reign, but after the March revolution by the Kerensky government. They were suppressed by the Bolsheviks during their temporary dictatorship in Siberia. In Belebei, in the government of Ufa, Eastern Russia, which I visited last April only eight days after the town had been liberated from the Bolsheviks, I learned from the inhabitants how, when the Bolsheviks took Belebei, they rounded up the members of the local Zemstvo and shot them without trial. The President of the Belebei Zemstvo, who was ill in the hospital at the time, was brought out into the public square in an invalid chair, and the Chief Commissar of the Bolshevik Executive Committee of Belebei shot him with his own hand. This was related to Mr. Wright, Mr. Whiffin and myself and corroborated by several eye witnesses. Photographs which we took that day, of murdered men and women whom the inhabitants of Belebei had just discovered half buried in the snow at the edge of a wood

near the town, left us no reason to doubt the testimony of the witnesses to the crime of the murder of the President of the Zemstvo.

The collapse of Bolshevism in Siberia did not begin from Vladivostok, as stated by Dr. Rosett. The greater part of Siberia had been freed from the Bolsheviks by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Siberian people more than a month before the Czecho-Slovaks put an end to Bolshevik rule in Vladivostok in order to prevent their further arming of the German and Austrian prisoners of war against their fellow soldiers en route to the East.

Another utterly false statement of Dr. Rosett is that concerning the dissolution of the first Siberian Duma, which he attributes to the Kolchak government. As a matter of fact, this Siberian Duma was called together during the regime of the Directory and the members voluntarily decided to dissolve the Duma after being addressed by Avksentiev and being convinced that they were no longer representative of the Siberian population. Admiral Kolchak at this time was in Japan. Similarly, it may be pointed out that General Ivanov-Rinov, who, by his punitive expeditions, succeeded in causing so much turmoil in eastern Siberia, was not appointed by Admiral Kolchak, but by Avksentiev, and was dismissed from office by Admiral Kolchak.

The coup d'etat of November 18, 1918, as a result of which Admiral Kolchak was called upon to assume his present position, has been the subject of so much controversy and misrepresentation that I feel it my duty to set forth the facts. This took place on the day of my arrival in Omsk and the successive events took place, not only during my stay there, but while it was my special duty to observe and report on them officially. News of the armistice of November 11th had reached Omsk on the 14th and the city was in a state of panic because of the avowed intention of the Czecho-Slovaks to withdraw from the Siberian front. The Avksentiev government had organized no efficient force to meet this contingency and it had further been discovered that they were in negotiation with Chernov, who had come from Moscow to secure the fusion of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks and was carrying on propaganda to this effect in the army. A group of Russian officers, to forestall this betrayal, seized two members of the Directory. The remaining directors and ministers telegraphed to Admiral Kolchak, who was at the Siberian front with the Czecho-Slovaks at the time, and begged him to return at once. On his arrival, he was entreated to take upon himself the task of defending the country and reorganizing the government. He did this unwillingly, but with complete devotion and patriotism. Since that time, his government has been anything but reactionary and has toiled incessantly in the face of overwhelming difficulties. Many of the ministers now holding portfolios in the Omsk government are men who were associated with Socialistic parties, some are non-party men, and not one is a Reactionary. Under Admiral Kolchak's leadership, a Russian army was quickly formed to take the place of the retiring Czecho-Slovaks and since last December, the Siberian front has been held entirely by Russian troops. The Siberian municipal election laws have not been changed from the regulations of the Provisional Government and they are fully as democratic as any municipal franchise laws in our American cities. There is not a place in Siberia where the Reactionaries control either a city council or a Zemstvo. In some cities, the Socialists have a majority. Such was the case in Ufa at the time I visited it. I talked with the various members of the local

government and found that the Socialist members of the local government were far more concerned with the question of whether or not Admiral Kolchak's armies could continue to hold the Bolsheviks back from Ufa than they were over any theoretical discussion about democratic liberties under Admiral Kolchak as contrasted with the democratic liberties under the Avksentiev Directory. They all desired to have Ufa on the Kolchak side of the Siberian front—about this, there was no room for argument.

Dr. Rosett makes much of murders, kidnappings, executions and general disorders in eastern Siberia. For these, the generally disturbed state of a sparsely settled and disorganized country and a number of freebooter "atamans" like Kalmykov, Annenkov and others were responsible. They were in open opposition to the Kolchak government and some of them are alleged to have received support from the Japanese. Semenov, the chief military leader in eastern Siberia, who was supported by the Japanese, refused to acknowledge the authority of Admiral Kolchak until last April. Yet Dr. Rosett lays all the disorders which occurred in eastern Siberia from November, 1918 to April, 1919, at the door of Admiral Kolchak. Could anything be more unfair? In April, the situation was greatly improved by Japan's action in agreeing to withhold support from these atamans until they should fully acknowledge the authority of the Kolchak government. This quickly brought them to terms. At the same time, the Omsk government carried out a general draft for men for his armies throughout all Siberia and it proved to be a tremendous success, as everyone who is informed about Siberia knows.

The Prinkipo Conference proposal was opposed, not only by Kolchak, but by every democratic and socialist organization in Siberia. The most unpleasant two weeks the writer ever spent in his life were the two weeks in which "all warring functions in Russia" were to decide as to whether or not they would consent to the general peace parley on the Princes' Islands. As one Russian tersely put the proposition to me, "If a band of ruffians had burned down your home, murdered your mother and carried off your wife and sister, would you agree to parley with them or would you get a posse and go after them with shot guns and rifles?" The writer happens to have been born in Kentucky, and his answer to the question may be easily guessed.

It is not true that Kolchak's influence is weak outside of territories where there are foreign detachments. On the contrary, the farther away from the Pacific coast, the more widespread and genuine is the influence of the All-Russian government. Where the All-Russian government is functioning best is in western Siberia and in the great territories of the Don, where there are no foreign detachments at all.

JOHN A. EMBRY,

Former U. S. Consul at Omsk, Siberia.
New York City.

Mr. Rossett Replies

SIR: Mr. Embry, in his attack upon my article in the New Republic, has altogether misstated the case of the Kolchak government in Siberia. I beg to call attention to his most salient errors.

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*Dr. Rosett . . . had only been in Vladivostok and vicinity for a few months and . . . had never at any time had the opportunity of visiting western Siberia.*

FACTS.—I have been in western Siberia. In Ekaterinburg alone I spent a whole year.

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*I know it to be a fact that there is not a member of the Constituent Assembly in prison in Siberia.*

FACTS.—Whether this is true or not at the moment I do not know, nor does Mr. Embry, I suspect. The following news items in Siberian papers would lead one to believe otherwise:

On the night of December 2nd twenty-seven members of the Constituent Assembly were arrested. They were placed in the prison at Omsk. Four of them are kept in solitary confinement.—*Narodnaya Gazeta, Ufa.*

After the arrest of the Directory, the dictatorship of Kolchak has been established. The members of the Constituent Assembly, in order to avoid being arrested or killed from behind the corner, are compelled in the majority of instances to be in hiding.—*Zemstvo News.*

Omsk, Dec. 7th.—On the 3rd of December by the order of the Supreme Ruler, members of the Constituent Assembly and members of the Council of the All Russian Convention were arrested. The greater number, however, managed to escape. The Commander of the Czecho-Slovak Ural forces, General Sirovii, has issued an order prohibiting further arrests of these men in the territory of the front, which includes Ufa and Komuch, without a previous investigation.—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

Decree.—The members of the Samara Committee and members of the Constituent Assembly, who have not resigned their duties to this date, are conducting an anti-governmental agitation . . . I hereby order all the army officers to stop this sinister work in the most determined manner, not hesitating to employ arms wherever necessary. I order commanders of regiments and chiefs of garrisons to arrest the above-mentioned persons in order to deliver them to a field court-martial . . . All officers and chiefs who may assist in the criminal work of the above-mentioned persons will be delivered by me to a field court-martial, and the same fate will befall chiefs who may manifest a weakness of spirit and passiveness of action.

(Signed) Kolchak.

The members of the Constituent Assembly who arrived at Cheliabinsk are taken under the protection of the Czechs. A guard of Serbians has been assigned them. They are guaranteed inviolability of person and are prohibited from making political agitation.—*Official telegram to Maritime Zemstvo government.*

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*Mr. Akhtiamoff related to us many interesting details of the Bolshevik occupation of Ufa, which, perhaps, would have opened the eyes of Dr. Rosett if he could have heard them, but he made no reference to his having been imprisoned or murdered by Admiral Kolchak. . . . I was in Omsk at the time of the murder of the three members of the Constituent Assembly.*

ANSWER.—Very ingenious.

It is a singular circumstance indeed that the murdered men should have thus missed their opportunity to inform Mr. Embry that they had not been murdered by Admiral Kolchak. I do not doubt that Mr. Embry was at Omsk at the time of the murder of three members of the Constituent Assembly. Whether he was present at Omsk when nine were murdered he does not say. Nor does it matter. Mr. Embry contends that the murders were committed by reactionary Russian officers and a squad of subservient soldiers who entered the prison on false pretenses, and that it is absurd to hold Admiral Kolchak responsible. Does Mr. Embry know that neither Tsar Nicholas, nor

his father, nor his grandfather ever killed a single man? It was always done by reactionary officers. Kolchak, in his decree, referring to the members of the Constituent Assembly, makes the point plain when he gives his officers the alternative either to deliver the Constituent Assembly members to a field court-martial or to be delivered to a field court-martial themselves.

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*Another utterly false statement of Dr. Rosett is that concerning the dissolution of the Siberian Duma, which he attributes to the Kolchak government. As a matter of fact, this Siberian Duma was called together during the regime of the Directory and the members voluntarily decided to dissolve the Duma after being addressed by Avksientieff and being convinced that they were no longer representative of the Siberian population.*

FACTS.—(Extract from a telegram received by Dr. Girza, of the National Czecho-Slovak Council, and by Lavroff, Morafsky and Vichristoff, members of the Serbian government of the Far East). The Administrative Council at Omsk, under the guidance of the Minister of Finances, Ivan Michailoff, has executed a coup d'etat. Under the threat of being shot, the ministers of the Siberian government, Krutovsky, Shatiloff and the Chairman of the Siberian Duma, Yakusheff, were compelled to resign. Novosieloff, who refused to sign his resignation, was shot. The Duma is dissolved and a military censorship is established. At Tomsk the associates of the Chairman of the Duma, Nikonoff and Lozonoy, a few members of the Duma, and a member of the Constituent Assembly, Paul Michailoff, were arrested. The Duma delegation from the Far East was forced to return to Irkutsk . . . Argunoff's order to free the arrested men is not being obeyed by the chief of the garrison and the Commissar. The members of the Duma, the most prominent members of the Social Revolutionary party are outlawed.

(Signed) Members of Siberian Government for the Far East. Bikovsky.

Representative with full powers of the Czecho-Slovak National Council. Gloss.

Extract from official declaration of the Maritime Province Zemstvo:

The dispersal of the Siberian Duma by the Administrative Council, consisting of mere hired officials, is a rude trampling upon the most elementary rights of the people . . .

The Irkutsk Province Commissar received an order from Vlogodsky to prohibit any gathering of a private character of the members of Tomsk Siberian Duma, and to resort, if necessary, to the detention of such persons. The motive for this order is the resistance of this body to the measures of the government.—*Majority of Newspapers.*

Extract from an Address to All Zemstvos and Municipalities, Public Organizations and to all the People of Siberia:

From the Central Committee of the All Siberian Union of Zemstvos and Municipalities:

. . . A handful of desperadoes, having contempt for the people and hating the idea of government by the people, and who dream about the restoration of the old autocracy, have murdered a member of the Siberian Duma, elected by the people, Alexander Efremovich Novosieloff . . .

MR. EMBRY'S EXPLANATION OF KOLCHAK'S COUP D'ETAT agrees in most respects with that given by Kolchak himself. It is in substance as fol-

lows: The All Russian Directory was influenced by party politics. This was not to the taste of officers in the service of the Directory. The "Patriotic" army officers therefore, arrested the objectionable members of the Directory, appointed by the All Russian Convention of Ufa and in place of the Directory invested Kolchak with the supreme and sole power.

The "Patriotic" officers were led in their action, by the way, by Col. Volkoff, the same Col. Volkoff who previously carried out the dispersal of the Siberian Duma and the murder of the Minister of the Interior Novosieloff mentioned above.

In Mr. Embry's estimation all this is perfectly normal and right. Didn't Col. Volkoff himself admit his guilt before Kolchak and implored to be delivered to a field court-martial? And didn't Kolchak deliver him to a field court-martial? Kolchak's field court-martial, to be sure, immediately declared Volkoff and his associates not guilty. But that isn't Kolchak's fault.

Is it possible that it is a representative of the United States government who speaks? The Lord endow us then with the blindness of Isaac, that we may say: Thy credentials are the credentials of the United States, but thy voice is certainly the voice of an ultra-Bolshevik monarchist.

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*Under Kolchak's leadership . . . in some cities, the Socialists have a majority. Such was the case at Ufa at the time I visited it. I talked with the various members of the local government and found that the Socialist members . . . were far more concerned with the question of whether Admiral Kolchak's armies could continue to hold the Bolsheviks back from Ufa than they were over any theoretical discussion about democratic liberties.*

FACTS.—On the 21st of November, by order of Col. Butenko (Kolchak's military commandant of Vladivostok), the chairman of the Vladivostok Social-Revolutionary Party and the Secretary of the Social-Democratic Menshevik Party were arrested. There is no accusation against them. Upon the demand of the Chairman of the Maritime Zemstvo, the General Staff of the Maritime Province replied that the arrested men cannot be set free.—Maritime Zemstvo News.

A systematic persecution of the members of the Akhmolinsk Branch of Social-Revolutionary Party is being conducted. A number of the members have been arrested.—Narodnoye Dielo, Ufa.

Organization dissolved.—In consideration of the new political conditions, the Ufa Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary party at its session of the 8th of December, has decided to dissolve the Ufa branch of the party.

In consequence of the above decision of the Committee, the publication of its official organ Narodnoye Dielo is hereby discontinued.—Telegram received by Maritime Zemstvo government.

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*Prominent Socialist Revolutionists . . . are taking a leading part in the organized activities of public and social service in Siberia.*

FACTS.—Vladivostok, Jan. 1st.—A rapid and determined annihilation of all the liberties obtained by the Revolution is taking place. The institutions which serve as expressions of the people's independence are being thoroughly undermined . . . The events at Omsk have let loose all the reactionary and dark powers of the dark past . . . The press is muzzled, freedom of speech is choked, workingmen's or-

ganizations are closed up, democratic and socialistic organizations compelled to dissolve.—Zemstvo News.

December 25th.—The All Siberian Union of Zemstvo has been abolished by the new government.

This reminds one of the attitude of the Tsar's government to the idea of a union of the Zemstvos. Then, as now, the union of Zemstvos was prohibited out of fear that it might serve to undermine the existing order of things . . . —Zemstvo News.

MR. EMBRY'S STATEMENT.—*The Omsk Government carried out a general draft for men for his armies throughout all Siberia and it proved to be a tremendous success, as every one who is informed about Siberia knows.*

FACTS.—Paris, Aug. 1 (Associated Press).—The All Russian Government of Admiral Kolchak is preparing to move from Omsk to Irkutsk, Siberia, and the morale of the Kolchak army is becoming so bad that there is little hope of its regaining the territory lost to the Bolsheviks.—New York Times, August 2, 1919.

Woodstock, New York.

JOSHUA ROSETT.

Mr. Pease is Correct

SIR: In your issue of August 6th, T. M. Pease in a letter comments on the "accurate conclusions and inaccurate data" of my recent article on army discipline and the tenor of his letter is to the effect that as a matter of fact, the caste system broke down even in the American army during the war.

I believe Mr. Pease is correct. This article was written in January, 1919, immediately after my discharge from the office of the Advocate General in Washington, D. C. I had not had the opportunity of going abroad but prior to my detail in Washington, I had gone through the line of the army for several years as private, corporal, sergeant, second lieutenant, first lieutenant and captain of infantry, so I was not speaking from the viewpoint of a temporary staff officer. Since this article was written, I have been in touch with former line officers, over whom, with whom and under whom, I have served in the line and these officers upon their return from France advise me exactly as Mr. Pease suggests; that is, that the military caste system did break down even in the American army during this war. The enlisted men of my old command who immediately hunt me up on their return to this country are more careful in their conversation about the situation, but I can see running throughout, that to their mind the artificial distinctions based on unreal premises will have to go.

I may say in passing that I revised the original article some time in June and brought up to date the so-called "inaccurate data." In some way or another, however, the original article and not the revised proof was printed.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

FRED B. JOHNSON.

Broadminded

SIR: I have eavesdropped another railway conversation.

Commuter B took from his pocket a copy of the New Republic. Commuter A attacked. B defended. He had to concede that the New Republic is sly and insidious; the word *Bolshevism* satisfactorily summarized the various iniquities which you slyly and insidiously purvey. "But," said he decisively, "lemme tell you something. If a fellow's got a level head, it don't really hurt him any to know both sides."

New York City.

WALTER NELLES.

Our House

Our House, by Henry Seidel Canby. New York: The Macmillan Co.

MR. CANBY'S book sets out to follow quietly and closely the life of Robert Roberts. I am reminded at once of Leonardo's theory of realism that he set down in his note-book. He believed that if you could really copy the outside likeness, the inner spirit would appear. Such a thing of course Velasquez, working in a method the opposite of Rembrandt's, did in his Venus, where the rendering of the hair about the face and the back of the neck is so beautifully true that it carries its own poetry and meaning quite as much, though differently, as the designing does, through lines and gilding and pale color of the hair of Botticelli's women. And Leonardo himself in the Mona Lisa exhausted every outer semblance to reveal objectively the soul of his sitter. Such a thing Dostoevsky knew how to do and Tolstoi often. Great realism and great idealism are not so far apart; they are a sort of inner and outer science leading toward the same end.

But such a thing implies an ability to see the life of the surface of things, every nuance, every vibration and variation. To set things down as they are, one must have an almost godlike power to see. One needs a sort of passionate observation and an insatiable patience. To be distinguished in such a quality must be as rare as it is to be distinguished in a great idealistic creative power.

It ought to be surprising, then—it is always so to me—that mediocre talents try realism. Painters tell us that most people do not see at all, that they go about missing almost everything under their noses. But the average man thinks he sees everything. It is not surprising, after all, that mediocre talents do go in for realism. Every one knows the kind of young lady who can neither play Scarlatti or an even scale nor render the poetry of Debussy at his best, neither end of music, well. What she really shines in is an easy musical pattern played with melting sweetness. Realism under Mr. Canby's hand suffers pretty much what music suffers under these young ladies, a little drier and more careful though he may be. Mr. Dreiser in *The Genius*—whatever faults the book has—at least leaves us with certain biting impressions of the man's life. But *Our House*, with its steady and mild expertness, after a little time in the memory, runs together like summer chocolates.

Robert Roberts is a Quaker boy. The book begins with his last night at college; then comes the return to Millingtown and his cousins and old ways of living. He tries business, hates it; he finds the hunger to write books strong in him. Meantime there are two girls, one Southern, sweet and wise, one New England, wise, fine, stimulating, out of place in Millingtown. Robert goes back to New York and we see other men of his class and what is becoming of them. He tries becoming one of the masses, does a good deal of rather ordinary ruminating, and so on. Finally Millingtown again and writing from the life he knows best, and at last betrothal with the girl who will understand him.

And so the author is content with setting down the surface of life as it passes, trusting the progression of things to take on significance. He will let the whole thing mass itself into a truthful account of life. As a matter of fact there is not a real record in the book from start to finish. There is not a piece of real observation. The stifling dull-

ness of much inclusiveness and no sharp perception, begins with the first chapter. The style—which is always the pulse of a book's vitality—has no life, no responsive sensitivity, no catch in it; it has always that adequate flatness that a certain technical expertness can give, it is full of stuff like college courses in writing, of the "she lifted yearning hands" kind of thing, the kind of thing that does its job without getting anywhere. The whole treatment of the story, the development of the suspense, the figures and turns of the style, always show the marks of that terrible adequacy of mediocrity that has been technically trained.

Our House is the sort of book that makes us cry out for the great sinners and saints in literary technique and makes me think of Dante's people who had never done either one thing or another, good or bad, and could not enter even into Hell lest by them even the damned take glory. And yet if one may have solidity without distinction, passionate living, acumen and sharp wits—and there are people who seem to think one may—*Our House* has a certain solidity. For stupid actors, they say in French, God created stupid spectators. Only, the play of life is never stupid, as the great realists have long since shown us.

STARK YOUNG.

The Path to Rome

A Spiritual Aeneid, by R. A. Knox. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

MR. KNOX has written the history of how, from an Evangelical ancestry which included an episcopal father, he was driven first into Anglicanism, and then into the Roman Catholic Church. His book is one of the most fascinating, because one of the most candid, in recent years. If it lacks the magic of Newman's famous narrative, that is chiefly because it is eighty years too late. Everything conspired to give Newman his special importance. He changed at the height of that romantic movement which, for Englishmen, finds its main embodiment in the novels of Scott and the divine nonsense which Coleridge called metaphysics. The English Church had been fiercely attacked, and the attention of England had been concentrated upon the defence, of which he was the main inspiration. Mr. Knox has been less fortunate. In a real sense, it is a similar path he has trodden, with the same difficulties in his way. But where Newman wrote for an England which looked upon religion as the main bulwark of morality, Mr. Knox writes for an England which has largely ceased to be interested in the questions he discusses. Clergymen, to be sure, will read his book. Some will shake their heads over his unconquerable levity; a few will say that it must have been hard for his father; the majority will thank heaven that they are untroubled by the nice theological questions which lay at the back of Mr. Knox's decision. The average layman, I suspect, will wonder why it is possible today to get so excited over the minutiae of ecclesiastical politics.

The problem, in fact, is more complex. I can remember Mr. Knox at Oxford, easily the most brilliant man of his time, a classical scholar of real distinction, a parodist of eminent wit, an extraordinary debater; above all, a lover of paradoxes and half-truths. He had distinguished himself by a second in classical moderations after getting the two great classical scholarships the undergraduate can win. Then came a first in greats and the election

to a clerical fellowship at Trinity. After that, one heard rumors of a flirtation with Pusey House and of bishops who would not let him preach in their diocese. Then came stories that Mr. Knox, like Newman, was puzzled by the validity of the Reformation, by the problem of authority in the church. If the Reformation changed nothing, he was understood to be asking, why does not the English Church face the problem of the Tridentine decrees? If you are going to make concessions to the Broad Church, what are you going to retain as indispensable dogma? The Incarnation? The Resurrection? Can you get two bishops to agree on the meaning of the Thirty-Nine Articles? Do you know by what bonds your Church is made one? How, indeed, do you know you are a Church?

It was all very uncomfortable for the opposition; and if I were a churchman, I should hate to have Mr. Knox for an opponent. He converted himself to Rome by the simple method of asking innumerable questions that Anglican theology found it difficult to answer. Mr. Knox was in a great hurry, and he therefore assumed that there was no answer. He hated the sense of doubt which the *via media* of Anglicanism left in his mind. Though he must have seemed an enfant terrible to his friends, he was in fact a man who wanted a safe harbor. He found his Anglican connections troubled by the higher criticism and by metaphysics; he found that Rome was untroubled. He came to the conclusion that Rome must be untroubled because she was right. His theological friends, moreover, seem largely to have left him to solve his own problems which he did in the simplest possible manner by ignoring them. In the result, as he informs us, he has changed the constraint of uncertainty for something which he calls "the glorious liberty of the sons of God."

That is an important discovery if it be true. But it raises two questions as to one of which only we have information from Mr. Knox. Eighty years ago, as everyone knows, Newman could become a Roman Catholic, briefly because he could not read German, more adequately because the only way in which theological questions can be attacked—the philological-historical method—was only in the primitive stage of its development. To us now, the main matter for bewilderment in Newman's case is partly his ignorance and partly his credulity. Cardinal Wiseman tripped him up on a historical problem, which, today, any first-year undergraduate could answer after three months' study of the early church. With Mr. Knox the situation is entirely different. The last seventy-five years have not been idle years in theology. The edifice upon which Baur and the Tübingen School labored may look different from anything they could easily recognize; but the foundations are more certain and enduring. Whatever the variations, whatever the gaps, no man can honestly say that the results have even the remotest tendency to reconciliation with Catholic dogma. And that whether we stay in the first four centuries of Christian history or extend our researches to the critical epoch of the Gregorian papacy. In his spiritual Aeneid what did Mr. Knox do with problems of this kind? He had read Murray and Leaf and Stowell on one side, Andrew Lang on the other, of the Homeric problem; and he found that the advocates of Homeric pluralism did not agree in details. He therefore concluded in favor of the unity of the poems. Similarly, it must be, so he thought, with the problems of the New Testament. Of first-rate authorities one can only discover that he

read—and did not like—Schweitzer's eschatological study. Harnack, Wellhausen, Loisy, in one field, Dollinger, Sarpi, H. C. Lea, Ritschl, in another, he does not so much as mention. Newman was not a scholar, and his waywardness is pardonable. But Mr. Knox does not seem to have known even the elementary way in which knowledge about his problem was to be acquired. He read Dr. Salmon on Papal Infallibility. He began Dollinger's great book, but left it unread for fear that it might have made him incline to the other side. Mr. Knox's own opinion of himself is that he is by nature "contrary-minded"; yet at what he seems to feel was the great spiritual crisis of his life, he deliberately left aside the books which any man with even an instinct for scholarship would have made the foundation of his inquiries. "It makes all the difference in the world," says Archbishop Whately, "whether you put truth in the first place or in the second." No one can doubt Mr. Knox's zeal to be right on this head, but his methods of attainment are, at the least, peculiar.

He has, of course, his retort; and that leads to the second question. Mr. Knox found freedom in the Roman Catholic Church. What does he mean by freedom? If he means that he had no longer any question to ask, that is true enough; but the man who has no question to ask is numbered among the unburied dead. If he means that he has joined an institution notorious for the freedom it makes possible, using the freedom in the sense of opportunity for intellectual adventure, then Mr. Knox must be an extraordinarily ignorant man. He cannot expect the outsider to believe that a church which, in the last century alone, had no room for Lamennais, Dollinger, Tyrrell, Loisy, is a free church; that the church which left Newman to languish for twenty years, which did its best to destroy Acton, which forced Shossmayer and Hefele to ignoble compromise with cherished conviction, is a generous church. Catholic freedom, in any sense save that of personal certitude, seems, in such a light, a contradiction in terms. "Even the poor buffoon has a soul to save," says Mr. Knox; but why does he save it in a church which has driven out those of all its members in the last century who commanded the admiration of mankind? Freedom in a sense that includes the activity of the world-mind in it Mr. Knox had in plenty in the Church of England. Broad Church, High Church, Low Church, he could have been any of these. He could have disbelieved in miracles with Canon Thompson or believed in them with Dean Wace; he could have accepted the Incarnation in a literal sense with Bishop Gore, or accepted it in a non-literal sense with Professor Kirsopp Lake. For speculation, at least, there is room here. I do not see what freedom in Rome Mr. Knox has found save for anti-Anglican pasquinades such as those in which he delights.

One of the misfortunes of the age is its neglect of theology. We have paid for the advent of science about twice as much as it is worth. The older field has still the sublime fascination of the past, and for its ministers, it never seems to grow old. Here is Mr. Knox on Newman's path and he recognizes none of the familiar signposts. At one stage, he encounters Tyrrell and he does not stay to greet him. At another Dollinger beckons him, but he passes on with a curt nod of the head. For him they are thin as ghosts; and he hurries to embrace the ghostliest of them all, sitting crowned, as Hobbes so finely said, upon the ruins of the supreme historic adventure.

H. J. L.

Philosophy and Revolution

Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism. A Study in the Correlation of Contemporary Social Tendencies, by J. W. Scott, Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd.

MR. SCOTT is putting to the test a fascinating idea. He has discovered what he might have called the principle of the spiritual solidarity of modern civilization,—a solidarity exhibited even in its maladies. In contemporary syndicalism and in the philosophies of Bergson and Russell he diagnoses the same spiritual sickness, to which he gives the name of "realism." Realism is the temper of mind appropriate to an age, like the present, of unrest, discontent, disintegration. Philosophy, for Mr. Scott, is the effort in some way to make sense of the universe as a whole. This effort springs from two motives, the desire to make sure about the universe, whatever its character may be, and the desire to find its character friendly. When this latter desire is balked, the former desire leads men to snatch, in conduct, at the satisfaction of their given impulses, and, in theory, at first impressions and facts as they are found. They abandon the effort at self-discipline. They cease to feel and act as members of a whole. They distrust the integrating, sublimating, idealizing power of thought. The result is realism: "the impulse to seize the immediate," "the taking of the real to be what it is given-as." Realism suits the temper of the age, because it is an age of rapid and violent transition, in which men, torn from their moorings, are adrift they know not whither. War, hunger, and pestilence have made the world ripe for revolution. Idols of all sorts are discovered having feet of clay. Venerable institutions are no longer respected. The state is being challenged. The industrial system is tottering. Unheard of experiments are being tried. Old values are being revalued. Old orders are disappearing, and the much advertised new orders look remarkably like chaos. Tossed in these troubled seas, what are men to cling to, except their impulses, feelings, sensations as "given"?

Idealism is thus, for Mr. Scott, the distemper of an age spiritually distraught—an age which has lost its bearings and despairs of being able to reconstruct them. In the syndicalist movement, realism appears as the lapse into class warfare and the universal strike from the constructive efforts of the humanitarian and political periods of socialism, when men still dreamt of a regeneration of society from within by the skilful use of existing forces and existing political machinery. Bergson is presented as a realist, partly, because Sorel, in his *Reflections on Violence*, expounds the syndicalist gospel in terms borrowed from Bergsonian philosophy, partly because Bergson's own theories of self-hood, of the cosmic élan vital, of the superiority of intuition over intelligence, face away from what Mr. Scott considers to be the typical achievements of constructive thought:—language, science, and the moral principles the embodiment of which in the social order makes the latter "simply an extension of the world of thought." Russell, lastly, is classed as a realist, both because, in his theory of the physical world, he tries to find bedrock in sense-data, and because, in his proposals for social reconstruction, he estimates the value of all institutions by their success in satisfying fundamental human instincts. And thus Mr. Scott accomplishes his bold tour de force, and fits the same realistic cap on to heads as diverse as those of syndicalist labor leaders thinking of the industrial revolu-

tion, of an intuitionist like Bergson seeking to feel at one with the cosmic life-tide, and of a passionate rationalist like Russell, who is truly happy only in the metetherial regions of mathematical logic.

Will this really do? True, Mr. Scott is a brilliant writer, rarely at a loss for a happy phrase or an apt comparison. For sheer skill in exposition I should rank his chapters on Bergson or his pages on Comte, Berkeley, Martineau, among the best recent work. But—! "Realism," we read, "is by its nature a breaker-up of the constructive rational order." Of realism, as Mr. Scott defines it, this would, perhaps, be true, but it is only by completely ignoring what is constructive in the movements and thinkers whom he criticizes that Mr. Scott can make them fit into his pattern of realism. Mr. Scott tells us that his main purpose is merely to point out the fact that, if realism is true, the policy of syndicalism is justified. But actually his argument, by constant innuendo rather than by open counter-proposals, seeks to suggest that realism is false, and therefore the aspirations of the working-classes foolish, or even wicked. Now this raises, fairly and squarely, the issue whether the existing order, political and economical, really deserves to be called a "constructive rational order," with the implication that it is so good that constructive reason can find nothing in it that needs to be undone or is capable of being bettered. Unless this is Mr. Scott's unavowed thesis, it is hard to understand why he depreciates the constructive proposals of the men he criticizes, without offering a shred of constructive suggestion of his own.

To give a few examples: Mr. Scott denounces the economic motive ("scrambling for the unshareable") as revolutionary and disintegrating. So far as there is any truth in this remark, it would have been appropriately addressed, not to working men, organized and unorganized, but to the successful scramblers, war-profiters, beneficiaries of unearned increment, et hoc genus omne. Again, his antithesis of economic and political good might apply in an ideal world. What he does not face is that in the actual world, political power, i. e., the effective control of legislation and foreign policy, goes together with economic power. If he were to re-read the history of socialism in the light of this principle, he would find that the movement towards self-governing industries is not a "confession of failure," but a change to new and more promising tactics in the effort to secure, both economically and politically, a greater scope for self-expression for all workers, both by hand and by brain. Against Bergson, Mr. Scott solemnly repeats the magic formulae: "Obedience to civil law is simply the will submitting to its own higher and saner self." "As a citizen the individual approves the laws he obeys, and obeys the laws he approves"—this by way of showing that a will duly sublimated finds "in the established institutions of society its aptest instruments." Presumably, Mr. Scott, like most of his fellow-philosophers, denounced the Germans for approving and obeying their old Hohenzollern institutions and policies. Presumably, he has no taste either for the citizen-virtues of the obedient and approving Bolshevik. Is it not high time that Mr. Scott ceased using the innocuous principle that the individual's will needs to be "sublimated" through membership in the life of a community, as a premise for inferring that every institution anywhere "established" is perfect? Is there nothing that he is able to learn from Mr. Russell's criticism of institutions, according as they hamper or promote the creative impulses in men and women, and thereby a freer and fuller life? In all this,

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Mr. Scott fails to see anything but a "dislocation of the social order," providing opportunities "for the soul to squander and spill itself." Mr. Russell's observations on the laws regulating marriage furnish one of the rare occasions when Mr. Scott condescends to be particular and concrete. Mr. Russell thinks that if divorce were made easier for ill-mated couples, fewer lives would be permanently embittered, and there would be fewer adulterous escapades. Mr. Scott thinks that, to put it bluntly, the parties should accept the transaction as final and settle down to making the best of a bad job. Let them eschew "the weak dreaming, the habitual looking over the wall into the next person's vineyard, the miserable, furtive, half-hearted imaginings of escape that will never allow the bracing sense of finality to come."

This contrast is typical of Mr. Scott's attitude throughout. He does, indeed, bestow a passing benediction on "those rebels of the rarer sort, clear-eyed and broken-hearted," who, in unwillingly upsetting the established order, really continue the creative process to which all order is due. But he has clearly no mind to be himself a rebel of this sort, because, at bottom, he will not admit that in the world as it is now established, there is any need even for this sort of rebelliousness. Let your bonds be your sinews, is his advice; let your disadvantages be opportunities. Learn to love the bars of your prison like the walls of your home, and behold you will find in your prison all you need to make a paradise of spiritual graces. Eschew revolt and self-pity, and peace of mind will be yours. His receipt for happiness is to cultivate an "intensive realization of life," which, translated, means: cease endlessly criticizing and desiring; accept things as they are and seek your "progress" in adjusting yourself to them, for thus will you be "perpetually attaining." Only religion can help you do this, for it will show you "in the established institutions of civilized humanity traces of the presence of a Deity."

Verily, blessed are they who worship the God-State, and are content to be underpaid and overworked.

R. F. A. H.

The Birthright of Esau

The Abolition of Inheritance, by Harlan Eugene Read. New York: The Macmillan Co.

A TEACHER of ethics who wanted to warn his class against the dangers of answering foolish casuistical questions according to their folly, recently asked why it was wrong of Esau to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage. The members of the class were somewhat mature, urban college students. Many of them called themselves radicals. Yet not one of them thought of suggesting that the ethical blame, if any, should rest on the tricky exploiting Jacob. Instead they ingeniously invented all sorts of reasons why Esau should be condemned for preferring to be saved from immediate exhaustion even at the expense of a future interest in a presumably large amount of property. The reason which found most favor with members of this class was, that it was Esau's duty to accumulate as much property as possible to leave to his children. This incident, perfectly authentic, is characteristic of the large extent to which primitive tribalism still dominates the prevailing moral attitude in such questions as those of inheritance. Generations of Bible readers have evinced no moral indignation at the atrocious way in which Joseph

used his control of the food market to acquire all the money, cattle, land and bodies of the Egyptians. He did not do it to his own people but to the Egyptians, and for that he deserved a double portion of his father's inheritance.

There can be no doubt that our inheritance laws date back to the tribal organization of society, and are largely supported today by sentiments which put family loyalty above public good. The fact that this tribalism is largely ingrained and unavowed, does not diminish its potency, a potency which makes Mr. Read's attempt to discuss the question on purely rational grounds seem pathetically futile. On purely rational grounds Mr. Read proves his case beyond a shadow of a doubt. The inheritance of wealth means the rule of the living by the dead. The substance inherited consists for the most part, not of goods for the protection of the young, but of legal power whereby the favored heirs may forever continue to tax the labor of the rest of the community, (in the form of dividends and interest charges). Inherited wealth, therefore, involves inherited poverty. The unconscionable sophistries by which this is supported are here mercilessly refuted, but without any perception of the fact that all the arguments usually adduced in justification of our inheritance system are just intellectual exercises in the realm of apologetics, and have nothing to do with the real origin and maintenance of the system. In view also of the fact that relatively few large fortunes pass by the laws of intestate succession, the author is unwise to devote so little space as he does to the question of the disposal of property by last wills and testaments. He shows himself more worldly wise in stressing taxation rather than escheat, as a practical method of abolishing economic oppression of the living by the will of the dead.

While books of arguments, like Mr. Read's, cannot directly overthrow a system based on established habits and prejudices, they are none the less useful in knocking off the protective paint of moral and intellectual respectability which always covers the vile features of reigning iniquities. As the pressure from increasing taxation grows it will become more and more easy to show the people the desirability of steeply graduated inheritance taxes. Such taxes are not only most just, but offer the least disturbance to business. By limiting each heir to \$10,000, over four billion dollars would annually accrue to the state. One can easily compute the relief which this would bring to the fourteen million workers who at the last census earned on the average five hundred and twenty-one dollars per year. Would anybody be really harmed by such a measure? Even if a favored few were to suffer, the harm and numbers would be insignificant compared with the millions whose growth is now stunted, because they have to go to work early and thus support the vicious circle of ignorance and oppression. How long will humanity suffer the tortures of its daily crucifixion for the sake of silly fictions such as that no one will work unless actuated by the hope of leaving a fortune?

M. R. C.

After the Whirlwind, by Charles Edward Russell. New York: George H. Doran Co.

MR. RUSSELL'S excommunication from the Socialist party is no more an indication that he has surrendered his belief in socialism than the excommunication of a sincere, free-thinking Christian from the organized church ought to be considered an indication of spiritual apostasy. Mr. Russell, with no other testimony than this latest book of his, is still a socialist, though among the

orthodox socialists his name is taboo as that of a political apostate. It is unfortunate that the American Socialist party, the self-professed champion of minorities, should have denied comradeship to the minority within its own ranks.

The orthodox socialist has been to a great degree upheld in his theories concerning the bourgeois democratic-capitalistic state—fortunately for his theories, unfortunately for the peace of the world—as against those socialists who, like Russell, Walling, Spargo, had trusted—with how little efficacy?—in the democratic intentions of the Allies, in their willingness to carve out a just and democratic peace. Germany has eaten of the bitter dust of defeat, but the Allies have not carved out a just and democratic peace. Rather, they have justified the worst that their radical enemies have said of them and have made ridiculous those who trusted in them.

And how naively Mr. Russell trusted in them. How keen must be his disappointment now. How easy a matter for the orthodox socialist to mock him with an "I told you so." How bluntly, for instance, do current events contradict such dogmatisms as this: "War is a King's game; when we are through with Kings, we shall be through with war."

And yet he speaks in a noble strain in his plea for the restoration of that spiritual attitude which, to a greater degree than now, obtained before the war, the attitude that would make a repetition of "the late unpleasantness" improbable, if not impossible. Today, that plea sounds almost fantastic, and yet in how many hearts has it not been uttered, and how often—it is to be hoped not insincerely—expressed as the purpose of "the democratic Allies."

He writes: "The sober fact is that so far as is humanly possible, in spite of all the great difficulties that attend, nationally, if not individually, these hurts must be healed and these wrongs forgiven if the world is not to be an intolerable place of wranglings, janglings, spites and bickerings leading to more and still worse wars; if it is not to be a series of huge camps wherein every nation is ceaselessly on guard against every other nation, reading into its every act only secret aggression, centering all thought, all energy, all invention, all initiative upon readiness for the next fight."

"There is no profit in hate," he says later on. "There is only profit in love. Viewed in the most practical, prosaic, commonplace way the forward motive power in this world is goodwill, not enmity, love, not hate. Hate merely throws the lever to reverse while the engine is going full-speed ahead."

It is a pity that such men as Mr. Russell should have been mocked by events. It is not improbable that he may seek to rejoin the Socialist party (unless he has been too deeply humiliated by the orthodox Socialist press). For the value of Mr. Russell as a propagandist can hardly be gainsaid. Mr. Russell was a journalist before he became a socialist and the non-socialist will read his interpretations of events with that tribute of interest which he would give to very few other socialist expositors.

HARRY SALPETER.

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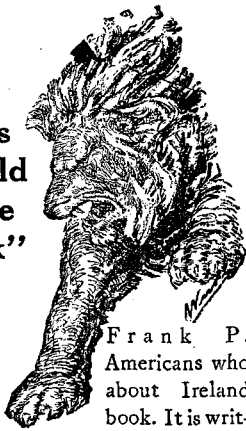
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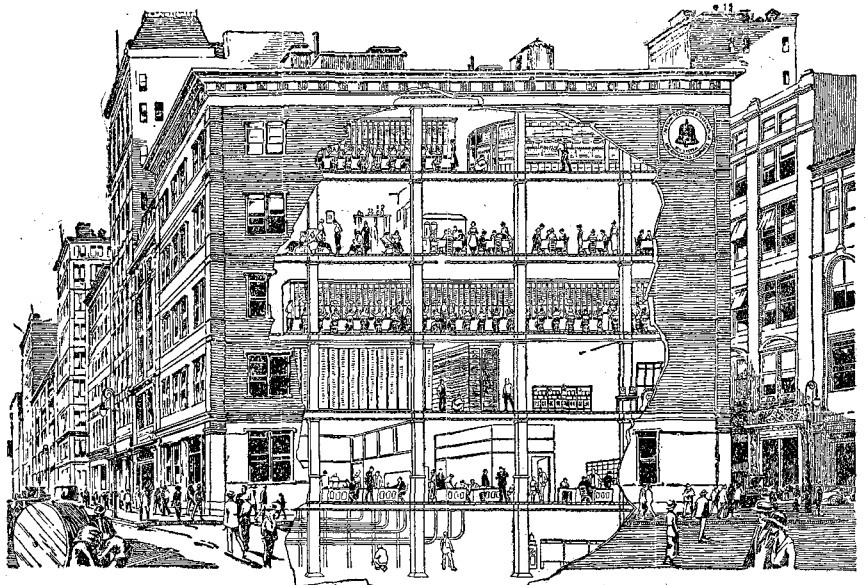
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